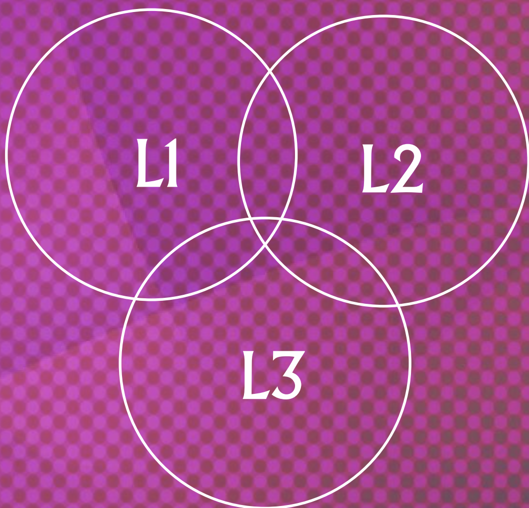
Anda-Lucia Cîlțan

THE PROGRESSIVE IN L3 SPANISH IN AN L1 ROMANIAN L2 ENGLISH SETTING



Presa Universitară Clujeană

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Introduction

The present paper focuses on the learning of the Spanish progressive by Romanian native speakers whose L2 is English and L3 – Spanish.

The aim of this study is to investigate how Romanians with English as L2 acquire the progressive in Spanish as L3 within low-intermediate and upper-intermediate language proficiency levels. To the best of our knowledge, there is no previous study which addressed the learning of the Spanish progressive by L3 learners with L1 Romanian.

Chapter 1, *The progressive aspect in Spanish,* presents the progressive aspect in Spanish, offering a description of the Spanish progressive periphrasis *estar + gerundio* ('be + gerund'), which includes its main features, its combination with aspectual classes and its syntax.

Chapter 2, *On the learning of the progressive aspect in L2/L3 Spanish,* focuses on the learning of the progressive aspect in L2/L3 Spanish, while also identifying the general issues in the literature on the learning of aspect. It also discusses the various approaches to transfer in L3 learning.

Chapter 3, *The progressive aspect in L3 Spanish in an L1 Romanian L2 English context,* presents my own experimental study on the progressive in L3 Spanish in an L1 Romanian L2 English setting, with particular interest for the present

simple/present progressive alternation, since it is a possible transferable component into Spanish from either Romanian or English or both. The main questions addressed in the study are whether the learning of the progressive in L3 Spanish is influenced by L1 Romanian or by L2 English. More precisely, the questions are whether Romanian native speakers tend to undermark the Spanish progressive, as a sign of L1 transfer – since Romanian does not have overt progressive markers or whether they tend to overuse it (i.e. extend its usage to other values than those which are implicitly associated with the progressive in Spanish), through L2 transfer – since the English progressive is typologically similar to the Spanish progressive.

The data come from an acceptability judgement task, a replica of the one used in Gabriele et al. (2015). The task contained 32 short contexts, each followed by a question whose answer was a sentence with a verb which was either in the present simple or in the present progressive. The task of the participants was to evaluate the sentence as acceptable or unacceptable.

Four values of the present tense were tested in the study: the ongoing, the habitual, the temporary habitual and the futurate. While the present simple is compatible with all these values in Spanish, only the ongoing and the temporary habitual readings can also be conveyed by the Spanish progressive. The aim of the paper is to investigate how Romanian learners of L3 Spanish who also know English as L2 learn the use of the progressive. The focus is on the availability of transfer and whether transfer is from L1 or from L2.

Chapter 1.
The progressive aspect in Spanish

1.1 Aim and organization

The aim of the present chapter is to offer a description of the progressive in Spanish with a view to identifying the main predictions with respect to its learning in an L2/L3 context. Section 1.2 defines the category of aspect. It distinguishes between situation-type aspect and viewpoint aspect and argues that the aspectual interpretation of sentences is compositional: it derives from the meaning contributed by the marker of viewpoint aspect and the way in which it interacts with the meaning of the verb phrase. In Section 1.3 I focus on the progressive viewpoint in Spanish, starting with a comparison between the progressive and the general imperfective in sub-Section 1.3.1 and following with three sub-Sections, 1.3.2, 1.3.3 and 1.3.4, which are completely dedicated to the Spanish progressive periphrasis. The last sub-Section discusses predictions for L2 learning regarding the Spanish progressive.

1.2 On the category of aspect

According to Smith (1997), aspect is "the semantic domain of the temporal structure of situations (events and

states) and their presentation". Also, Freed (1979) defines it as:

> "a notion of time, distinct from tense, that refers to the internal temporal structure of events and activities named by various linguistic forms (…) aspect describes the temporal quality or condition of an event with respect to itself, in terms of such things as inception, repetition, completion, duration, punctuality, etc…To speak of aspect is to speak of a time-ordering separate from tense that deals with the internal temporal structuring, e.g. the relative duration, inception, and completion of verbal activities."

In other words, aspect is a morphological and conceptual feature expressing the perspective chosen by the speaker to present a certain event, which can be viewed as terminated, durative, telic, in progress, etc. It is the "situation-internal time" (Comrie, 1976) and it reflects the ordering relationship between event time (ET) and reference time (RT).

Smith (1997) distinguishes between two types of aspect: situation-type (lexical) and viewpoint (grammatical) aspect. The situation-type classifies events and states based on a set of semantic properties. The three main features mentioned by the linguist which help make the distinction between predicate types are telicity, durativity and dynamism. In her view, it is not just the verb, but the verb cluster which materialises situation-type, including the lexical meaning of the verb, its arguments and its adjuncts. The five situation types and their

corresponding semantic features are presented in the following table:

Table 1. Situation types (from Smith, 1997)

Predicate type	Telicity	Durativity	Dynamism
States	-	+	-
Activities	-	+	+
Accomplishments	+	+	+
Achievements	+	-	+
Semelfactives	-	-	+

As noticeable from the table, states have no dynamics and no internal change, do not have an inherent endpoint and hold for a moment or interval. Smith (1997) claims that state predicates which express permanent properties are generally incompatible with the progressive, while states that allow an episodic interpretation can combine with the progressive form, as in (1). This is also valid in Spanish, which is shown in example (2).

(1) John is being rude.
John be-Pres-3SG be-ing rude

(2) María está siendo amable.
María be-Pres-3SG be-gerund kind
'María is being kind.'

Activities are dynamic predicates endowed with duration and have an arbitrary endpoint. They are intrinsically compatible with the progressive, both in English (3) and in Spanish (4).

(3) Carla is reading.
Carla be-Pres-3SG read-ing

(4)	Juan	está	leyendo.
	Juan	be-Pres-3SG	read-gerund
	'Juan is reading'		

The third type of predicates, accomplishments, is characterised by dynamism and duration and presents an internal change and a natural final endpoint. On the other hand, achievements are dynamic and entail a result, but lack duration and are considered instantaneous predicates, although there are achievements which present a preliminary stage and may be employed with the progressive. Lastly, semelfactives are non-durative and atelic, i.e. lacking an intrinsic result, but dynamic. The extended features associated with each aspectual class and their compatibility with the progressive form in Spanish will be further discussed in Section 1.3 on the progressive viewpoint, while the interaction between aspectual properties and the progressive viewpoint in English will be presented in Section 1.4.

The second category of aspect is viewpoint aspect (Smith, 1997), which refers to the way in which the speaker presents the situation. It can be divided into the perfective viewpoint, which presents the situation as a whole, and the imperfective viewpoint, which presents only one stage of the situation, with no mention about its endpoint. The imperfective can be further decomposed into the general imperfective, focusing stages of any predicate type, and the progressive, which allegedly combines solely with non-stative types of predicates (Smith, 1997).

Keniston (1936) describes the progressive aspect as "an illustration of an unbroken series of acts" (Keniston, 1936: 164),

the view being similar to that of García-Fernández's (2006). According to him, the speaker may choose from two possible attitudes towards a state or an action: the *integrative*, which perceives the event as a whole, and the *fractionative*, which views it as a series of parts. The latter can be further divided into progressive and iterative aspect, respectively, for the dynamic predicates.

The progressive aspect is employed to "expand the consideration of a particular action or state into the periods immediately preceding and following the moment of observation" (Keniston, 1936: 171). The event is presented as durative – with a limited or unlimited duration. According to Keniston (1936), verbs of motion best fit this progressive frame as they intrinsically have a dynamic value and are not seen, in any way, as static.

Viewpoint aspect has grammatical markers, which vary from one language to another. For example, the progressive viewpoint is conveyed through (*be* +) *-ing* in English, while Spanish employs the periphrasis *estar* 'be' + gerund. Nonetheless, as already mentioned, aspectual meaning is compositional, i.e. it is not only the verbal morphological properties which influence the category of aspect, but also other sentential elements, which leads to the entire construction playing a role in the aspectual interpretation of the predicate.

Aspect is seen as an indicator of the internal structure of events which is indifferent to speech time, i.e. it is non- deictic. Its interpretation is not speech-time oriented. It is also described as a grammatical resource allowing us to emphasise or, on the contrary, mask certain elements of the presented

situation. The two sentences in (5) present the same action, but from two different perspectives.

(5) a. Miguel limpia la habitación.
Miguel clean-Pres-3SG the room
'Miguel cleans/is cleaning the room.'

b. Miguel está limpiando la habitación.
Miguel be-Pres-3SG clean-gerund the room
'Miguel is cleaning the room.'

Thus, both can present the action as happening at speech time, but only the first sentence can also have a habitual reading. The example (b) can only receive an on-going interpretation.

According to RAE & AALE[1] (2010), there are three types of the imperfective aspect. The first two types are not a matter of particular interest for the present paper, but they will be mentioned nevertheless in order to create a full picture of this aspect. The iterative value refers to a series of repeated situations of the same type and the continuous value is characterised by describing a situation which persists over a period of time. The continuous value, in fact, corresponds to the general imperfective. In the latter case, there is no process or event in progress, so the Spanish progressive periphrasis *estar* 'be' + gerund (*estar* + *gerundio*) cannot be used with this continuous interpretation. For the iterative value, only the imperfect tense (*imperfecto* in Spanish) can be used; the aforementioned periphrasis is excluded.

[1] Real Academia Española & Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española.

(6) Maite se levantaba muy temprano.
Maite herself-refl.pron wake-Imperfect very early
'Maite would wake up very early' (Spanish Grammar of the Academy, 2010: 432)

The third variety of the imperfective is the progressive, which focuses on a point or an interval in the unfolding action and which will represent the main concern of this chapter. Next, RAE & AALE (2010) explicitly mentions that this value brings about the alternation between the present simple/ *imperfecto* and the progressive periphrasis. The subchapter about the present tense states that it acquires progressive value when the situation is unfolding, which allows the speaker to employ either the simple present tense form or the progressive periphrasis freely, as they are equivalent. The same progressive interpretation, but from a past perspective, exists for the *imperfecto*, which is interchangeable with the periphrasis *estar* 'be' + gerund.

Moreover, this type of aspect has grammatical markers, which vary from one language to another. For example, the progressive viewpoint is conveyed through (*be* +) *-ing* in English, while Spanish employs the periphrasis *estar* 'be' + gerund. Nonetheless, as already mentioned, aspectual meaning is compositional, i.e. it is not only the verbal morphological properties which influence the category of aspect, but also other sentential elements, which leads to the entire construction playing a role in deciding which aspectual category it belongs to.

1.3 The progressive viewpoint in Spanish

1.3.1 The progressive vs. the general imperfective

According to Soto and Castro (2010), *estar + gerundio* is one of the most productive Spanish verbal periphrases. Bertinetto (2006, in Soto and Castro, 2010) regards progressivity as the prototype of imperfectivity. According to Roca Pons (1958, in Soto and Castro, 2010), this periphrasis is the purest form of the imperfective aspect. However, even though the progressive is often associated with the imperfective, the periphrasis can also be constructed with perfective temporal-aspectual forms, such as *pretérito indefinido*. The sentence can contain a durative adverbial, as shown in (7) below, or an adverbial specifying the initial and final points of the event, like *from 8 to 10 p.m.*

(7)	Javí	estuvo	limpiando	su cuarto toda la mañana.
	Javí	be-Pret-3SG	clean-gerund	his room all morning
	'Javí was cleaning his room all morning.'			

As for the Imperfect tense (*pretérito imperfecto*), it is compatible with the progressive periphrasis as well, but only if there is no explicit adverbial mentioning the duration or limits of the event and within certain constructions. Hence, the authors claim that, at least in Spanish, the progressive is not the prototype of the imperfective aspect. Dahl (1985) (in Soto and Castro, 2010) mentions some differences between the progressive and the *imperfect*, which is the purest representation of the imperfective:

1. the *imperfecto* tense is normally related to the past, while the progressive can be equally used with both present and past tenses;

2. the progressive does not usually convey a habitual action, while the *imperfecto* does;
3. the progressive is restricted to dynamic events, while the *imperfecto* can be employed with all types of situations;
4. the *imperfecto* is typically expressed through morphological means, while the progressive through a periphrastic construction.

Also, regarding the difference between the progressive used in the imperfect tense and the *imperfecto* tense used non-periphrastically (which are both instantiations of the imperfective aspect), Moreno Burgos (2016) mentions that the first one focuses on a part of the event – progressive interpretation, as in (8a) – while the second one refers to a sole event repeating itself – continuous reading, as in (8b).

(8) a.

Cuando	salí	del metro	estaba
when	get out-Pret-1SG	from the metro	be-Imperf-3SG
lloviendo	en NY.		
rain-gerund	in NY		

'When I got out from the metro it was raining in New York' (CREA in Moreno Burgos 2016)

b.

A las cinco	y	media	nos	trasladamos
at the five	and	a half	ourselves-refl	transfer-Pret-1PL
al aeropuerto Kennedy;	hacía	viento	y	
at airport Kennedy;	have-Imperf-3SG	wind	and	
llovía.				
rain-Imperf-3SG				

'At five and a half we transferred to the Kennedy airport; it was windy and it was raining.' (CREA in Moreno Burgos 2016)

Moreover, the progressive can be employed with both perfective and imperfective forms, depending on the properties of the action which are being focused.

Keniston (1936) mentions the auxiliaries which can be used in the gerund construction, i.e. *estar/venir/ir (+ gerundio)*. *Estar* 'be' has been used from the earliest times; hence it had sufficient time to expand its meanings and usage and to have become the most used auxiliary to express the progressive aspect.

1.3.2 The periphrasis **estar + gerundio***: main features*

In what follows I will describe the basic values of the progressive periphrasis, followed by the contextually-marked values it may receive. I will then discuss its combination with the aspectual classes.

The progressive periphrasis *estar* 'be' + gerund (*estar* + *gerundio*) presents a situation in progress, as unfolding at a particular reference time, as incomplete (Alonso 1996, González et al. 2006). The periphrasis focuses on an internal stage of the situation denoted by the predicate, leaving the initial and final stages aside and emphasizing the fact that the action has been initiated, but not completed (RAE & AALE 2010). According to several authors, *estar* + gerund is the most frequently employed temporal-aspectual expression for actions in progress at a specific Reference Time. And, according to RAE & AALE (2010), using the simple present tense (with no periphrasis) when referring to a temporary activity occurring at or during speech time would, in most of the cases, be perceived as describing a habit, while the progressive periphrasis in the present is seen as the preferred variant. According to Lenz (1925), the progressive periphrasis

(which he names *durative voice*, justifying his lexical choice as follows: "as English grammar commonly assigns a special name to the conjugation *I am writing* in order to distinguish it from *I write*, I consider it convenient to name the Spanish conjugation with *estar* with the gerund, *durative* conjugation (or voice)" (1925: 399)) is the preferred choice when referring to a present action which coincides with the moment of speech (in cases of simultaneity), while the simple present is most used when expressing an event with no temporal boundaries.

Diego Quesada (1995) also notices that the Spanish opposition [± progressive] brings about a phenomenon which is also present in English and which Dahl (1985 in Diego Quesada 1995) describes as follows: "when a PROG is opposed to a 'Simple Present' there is also the possibility of a shift to a situation where PROG takes on the role of IPFV [imperfective] and the earlier 'Simple present' develops into a category with primarily habitual use".

As visible in (9) below, the periphrasis shows the event in its unfoldment, with no mention of its beginning and end and receives, hence, an on-going reading. The present tense of the verb *estar* 'to be' indicates that the action takes place at or around speech time.

(9)	El niño	está	jugando	con la pelota.
	the boy	be-Pred-3SG	play-gerund	with the ball
	'The boy is playing with the ball'			

As already mentioned above, *estar* + *gerundio* indicates that the situation has (limited) duration (Gili Gaya 1969); with

atelic predicates, the periphrasis does nothing else than create the impression of a longer-lasting activity than the non-periphrastic forms do, as seen in (10) below.

(10)	a.	Juana	está	bailando	como loca	en la	fiesta.
		Juana	be-Pres-3SG	dance-gerund	like crazy	in the	party
		'Juana is dancing like crazy at the party.'					

b.	Juana	baila	como loca	en la fiesta.
	Juana	dance-Pres-3SG	like crazy	in the party
	'Juana is dancing like crazy at the party.'			

In Bertinetto's view (2006 in Soto & Castro 2010), the difference between (10a) and (10b) above resides in the fact that (10b) refers to a *type* of state of affairs, while (10a), which contains the progressive periphrasis, represents an instantiation or *token* of the respective type. According to Gómez Torrego (1988), *estar* + gerund *gerundio* "accentuates the value of *presentness* that can come to oppose itself to the habitual <value> of the simple form".

The periphrasis allows speakers to present an action with any verbal tense, expressing unfinished events in present or imperfect tense, and finished events, respectively, with perfective tenses like *pretérito indefinido*, *pretérito compuesto* and other compound tenses (Raya et al. 2017). In the latter case, *estar + gerundio* does not focus on the perfective aspect of the action: it can either express completely finished actions presented while they are unfolding, as in (11) or not entirely completed actions viewed in progress during a certain time period, if followed by another sentence providing context for this interpretation, as in (12) (Raya et al. 2017).

(11) Estuvimos comiendo en ese bar tan famoso.
be-Pret-1PL eat-gerund in that bar so famous
'We had been eating in that famous bar' (Raya et al. 2017)

(12) Estuvo escribiendo una novela durante tres años y, al final, la dejó sin terminar.
be-Pret-3SG write-gerund a novel for three years and, at end, it leave-Pret-3SG without finishing
'He had been writing a novel for three years and, in the end, he left it unfinished' (Raya et al. 2017)

It presents the unfolding action as coinciding with a temporal interval in the present (11 a), past (11 b) or future (11 c.), depending of the tense of the auxiliary verb (Bosque & Demonte 1999). The action may start before and continue after reference time, its limits being exclusively provided by temporal expressions (González et al. 2006).

(13) a. Alba está tomando un café.
Alba be-Pres-3SG have-gerund a coffee
'Alba is having a coffee.'
b. Alba estuvo tomando un café.
Alba be-Pret-3SG have-gerund a coffee
'Alba was having a coffee.'
c. Alba estará tomando un café.
Alba be-Future-3SG have-gerund a coffee
'Alba will be having a coffee.'

Even with perfective tenses, the periphrasis indicates the end of the action, but not its reaching its telos, the main effect of the periphrasis being that of "updating" the verbal process (Bosque & Demonte 1999). García Fernández (2006) names this value *detelizer*, meaning having the ability to delete or at least suspend the telos.

The periphrasis can also have an iterative value (Bosque & Demonte 1999) in some contexts, hence expressing a repetitive action which is globally considered unfinished.

(14) Estuvo saliendo con él ocho años y
be-Pret-3SG go out-gerund with him eight years and
al final
eventually
se casaron.
themselves- refl.pron marry-Pret-3PL
'She had been going out with him for eight years and eventually they got married.' (Moreno & Tuts 2007)

Estar + gerund may also present progressive-inchoative aspects, like in (13) below (Raya et al. 2017).

(15) Me estoy hartando, así que déjame en paz.
I be-Pres-1SG get sick of it-gerund, so leave me in peace
'I am getting sick of it, so leave me alone.' (Moreno & Tuts 2007)

The periphrasis can be used in habitual situations only when it expresses emotional involvement on the part of the speaker (Bosque & Demonte 1999), as illustrated in (16) below.

(16) ¡Siempre te estás quejando!
always you be-Pres-2SG complain-gerund
'You're always complaining' (Bosque & Demonte 1999)

The *estar* + gerund can also refer to habitual situations of limited duration, i.e. temporary habitual situations (González et al. 2006). In (17), were the non-periphrastic form used, it would mean that the husband starts preparing dinner when his wife gets home, not earlier, as suggested by the periphrastic version.

(17) Todas las noches, cuando llega, su marido
all the nights, when arrive-Pres-3Sg, her husband
está preparando la cena.
be-Pres-3SG prepare-gerund the dinner
'Every night, when she gets home, her husband is making dinner' (González et al. 2006)

(18) Estoy yendo al centro cada tres días.
be-Pres-1SG go-gerund to the centre every three days
'I am going to the centre every three days.'

(19) Estos días estoy saliendo de trabajar a las 6.
these days be-Pres-1SG leave-gerund work at 6
'These days I am leaving work at 6.' (González et al. 2006)

Summing up, the construction *estar + gerundio* has durative, dynamic, continuative and progressive values as its basic values, since it expresses a situation unfolding at a particular reference time, focusing an internal stage of the situation. Contextual values include the *detelizer* one, occurring with perfective tenses, the iterative and progressive-incohative values and the habitual one which refers to temporary habits.

1.3.3 The periphrasis **estar + gerundio** *and aspectual classes of predicates*

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the aspectual value of the predicate derives from the interaction between lexical aspect and viewpoint aspect. In this section I will focus on the interaction between the progressive periphrasis *estar + gerundio* and situation type aspect.

The progressive periphrasis is preferentially combined with predicates expressing durative processes, especially

activities (RAE & AALE 2010), as can be seen in (10a) above. As they denote dynamic, unlimited, durative and atelic events (*llorar* 'cry', *correr* 'run', *hablar* 'speak/ talk'), they are compatible with the progressive periphrasis, since it presents the middle stage of an action in progress that has no visible endpoint (Gaspar-García 2015). With activities, it expresses a temporary action, as illustrated in (10a), which will be repeated below for convenience, in comparison with the non-periphrastic form, which expresses the immediate future or the habitual present.

(20) a. Juana está bailando como loca en la fiesta.
Juana be-Pres-3SG dance-gerund like crazy in the party
'Juana is dancing like crazy at the party.'

The progressive periphrasis can refer to temporary habitual situations only if a time adverbial signals that the activities are limited to a temporary limited period, as in (23) (Bosque & Demonte 1999).

(21) Estos días estás fumando mucho
these days be-Pres-2SG smoke-gerund a lot
'These days you are smoking a lot.' (Bosque & Demonte 1999)

With activities at a perfective tense, the value of the periphrasis is very similar to that of non-periphrastic verbal forms, an important aspect to mention being nonetheless that the former is more frequently employed with a durative adverbial, since it conveys an ongoing interpretation (Bosque & Demonte 1999).

(22) Julia estuvo escribiendo correos electrónicos toda la mañana
Julia be-Pret-3SG write-gerund e-mails all the morning
'Julia had been writing e-mails all morning'

With activities, in order to express the continuative value interpreted as an unfolding state of affairs, the speaker may either employ the compound forms of the progressive periphrasis or the non-periphrastic compound forms accompanied by an adverbial such as "sin descanso", translatable as "without a break" (García Fernández 2006). He also mentions the preference for the periphrastic structure at *pretérito perfecto* tense (which is a perfective tense) with predicates expressing activities, the simple, non-periphrastic form only being able to convey the same semantic interpretation (that of unfolding situation) if it is followed by a durative adverbial.

State predicates seem, at first look, impossible to combine with *estar + gerundio* because they are [+stative]; they are, therefore, incompatible with the progressive periphrasis which has a dynamic feature, presenting an internal stage of the event in progress (Gaspar García 2015). However, taking a closer look at the interaction between state verb phrases and the abovementioned periphrasis indicates that there are sufficient examples to make one doubt the restriction. The fact that some state predicates allow this combination while others do not is explained by the classification made by Bertinetto (1986 in Gaspar García 2015), who distinguishes between two types of states: stable, gnomic, permanent states, known in the literature as individual-level predicates, and episodic, stage states, known as stage-level predicates. The first category

includes, according to Fernández Leborans (1999 in Gaspar García 2015), permanent properties, viewed as having no temporal or spatial limit, such as *ser rumano* or *ser hombre* (translated to *be Romanian* or *be a man*) and thus incompatible with the progressive periphrasis. On the other hand, the second category refers to episodic states which involve change and spatial-temporal limits, such as *querer* 'love', *poseer* 'own', *conocer* 'know' etc. (Gaspar García 2015), which is what makes them compatible with the progressive periphrasis and what endows them with an ingressive value, like in (25).

(23) La historia no estaba teniendo mucho éxito.
The story not be-Imperf-3SG have-gerund much success
'The story was not having much success' (Fernández de Castro 1987 in Gaspar García 2015)

Nevertheless, this is a matter of context and connotation, as these predicates can also be perceived in their continuity, cases in which they are incompatible with the periphrasis, as showed in (26) below.

(24) *Estaba poseyendo el DNI español.
be-Imperf-3SG own-gerund the ID-card Spanish
'*He was having the Spanish ID-card' (Pérez-Reverte 2002 in Gaspar García 2015)

Hence, depending on the meaning the speaker attributes to the verb and on the context one employs it in, it acquires either a permanent reading or an episodic one, which is the decisive element in its compatibility with the periphrasis *estar + gerundio.*

For those combinations between the progressive periphrasis and stative verb phrases, where there is no dynamic reading, Moreno Burgos (2016) suggests that there exists a periphrasis homonymous with the progressive one, but which has a modal character, related to a conditional value, that is in reality the element allowing for a dynamic reading in the case of individual-level predicates. There is a simultaneity relationship established between the auxiliary verb *estar* and the lexical verb, which should be regarded as a lexical relation between a locative state and an event. In what concerns the temporal anchoring, which refers to the acceptability of a temporal adverbial accompanying the predicate, he considers that the periphrasis having a progressive value can be temporally anchored, while the modal reading does not allow for that.

In Diego Quesada's view (1995), however, in order to be employed with states, the periphrasis requires a dynamic reading and implies other *aspectual nuances.*

Estar + gerundio is also used with state predicates which allow a temporary interpretation, such as those which denote behaviours (*be kind, be loud*), in which case the sentence acquires a dynamic interpretation (García-Fernández 2006), as in (27), but it generally fails to associate with inherent or classifying states (*be tall, be bold*), such as (28) (RAE & AALE 2010), where the predicate ascribes a property to.

(25)	Ella	está	siendo	muy amable.
	she	be-Pres-3SG	be-gerund	very kind
	'She is being very kind'			

(26) *Ella está siendo alta.
she be-Pres-3SG be-gerund tall
'*She is being tall'

According to Soto & Castro (2010), the use of the periphrasis is unacceptable with states of the type *ser doctora* 'to be a doctor', as they are non-dynamic and lack internal stages. Regardless of this, prototypically stative properties can be recategorised into dynamic ones if the speaker chooses to adopt this perspective in order to convey the unexpectedness of the state of affairs described, producing an utterance like (27) above. In Mufwene's view (1984 in Genta 2008), the periphrasis adds properties to verbs that do not intrinsically own them, thus conceding transitoriness to states; the use of the periphrasis with such predicates is entirely a pragmatical choice of the speaker who thus wants to focus on the inner action implied by the state, providing a progressive character to the predicate and, in this way, removing its stative one.

The periphrasis *estar + gerundio* can also occur with accomplishments modified by a *during* time adverbial (Spanish*: durante*), which suspends the result and recategorizes the predicate, which loses its telicity (RAE & AALE 2010). In this case, a progressive accomplishment (which is a telic predicate) does not entail that the situation denoted by the predicate did indeed obtain (Gaspar-García 2015), phenomenon which is known in the literature under the name of *imperfective paradox* (Dowty 1979). Hence, the progressive periphrasis inhibits the telic component. This is why the meaning of a sentence such as (29 a), which implies

that the baking action is incomplete, is often better conveyed by (29 b), as the periphrasis emphasizes unfoldment:

(27) a. Cocí la tarta durante dos horas.
bake-Pret-1SG the cake for two hours
'I baked the cake for two hours.'
b. Estuve cociendo la tarta durante dos horas
be-Pret-1SG bake-gerund the cake for two hours
'I was baking the cake for two hours.'

With accomplishments co-occurring with perfective tenses (*pretérito indefinido, pretérito perfecto simple* and compound tenses), the periphrasis does not imply that the action has reached its goal, but only that it has stopped, which is why *estar + gerundio* requires the use of non-conclusive temporal adverbials, such as *during/for x hours* (Bosque & Demonte 1999), as exemplified in (24) above.

Achievements used with the *estar + gerundio* construction can receive an ingressive reading (viewed in their initial stage), as in (25) or a terminative one (viewed in their final stage), like illustrated in (26) (Gaspar-García 2015). It is this stage of the event which is, in fact, presented as durative.

(28) Ella estaba saliendo de la casa con su
she be-Prog-3SG leave-gerund of the house with her
maleta y encontró a don Fermín
luggage and meet-Pret-3SG prep-DOM mister Fermín
'She was leaving the house with her luggage and she met Mr. Fermín' (Vargas Llosa 1969 in Gaspar-García 2015)

(29) El heraldo me ha dicho que la comitiva
The herald me tell-Pret Perf-3SG that the cortege
ya está entrando en la calle de al lado
already be-Pres-3SG enter-gerund in the street of nearby
'The herald has told me that the cortege was already entering the nearby street' (CREA in Gaspar-García 2015)

Or, in her view, it may as well be employed with an achievement when the action and the situation to which the co-text refers to coincide. In these cases, the periphrasis is thought to "update" the unfoldment of the action by including it into a particular context and, consequently, the event is perceived in the precise moment in which it reaches its goal.

(30)	Salgo	a la calle	mientras	están
	go out-Pres-1SG	at the street	while	be-Pres-3PL
	dando	las doce	en el campanario	de la iglesia
	give-gerund	the twelve	in the steeple	of the church

'I am going out on the street while the steeple is striking midnight' (CREA in Gaspar-García 2015)

If the periphrasis is used with achievements and with a perfective tense, as in (30a) below, it receives a repetitive reading. On the other hand, if it is used with an imperfective tense, such as the *Imperfecto* in a sentence like (30b), the expression acquires an inchoative value, meaning 'He was starting to wake up' (RAE & AALE 2010).

(31)	a. Se	estuvo	despertando	toda la noche.
	himself-refl.pron	be-Pret-3SG	wake up-gerund	all the night

'He was waking up all night.' (from numele 2010: 549)

	b. Se	estaba	despertando.
	himself-refl.pron	be-Pret-3SG	wake up-gerund

'He was waking up'

The progressive periphrasis behaves differently from the *imperfecto* tense with achievements. A periphrastic predicate expressing an achievement at *imperfecto* tense is more naturally combined with a subordinate sentence which interrupts the course of events than the simple verbal form (Giorgi and

Pianesi 1995, in García-Fernández 2006). This is exemplified in a sentence such as (31) below.

(32)	Ayer	Gianni	estaba	alcanzando		la cima,
	yesterday	Gianni	be-Imperf-3SG	reach-gerund		the peak,
	cuando	un violento temporal		se	lo	impidió.
	when	a violent storm		him-pers.pron	it	prevent

‘Yesterday Gianni was reaching the peak, when a violent storm prevented him from reaching it.’ (Giorgi & Pianesi 1995 in García Fernández 2006)

According to Bosque & Demonte (1999), with achievements in an imperfective tense, the periphrasis signals the imminence of the event, as illustrated in (32) below.

(33)	Estoy	llegando	ahora mismo.
	be-Pres-1SG	arrive-gerund	right now

‘I am arriving right now.’

The sentence implies that I am on the point of arriving at the destination, thus the event is presented as something bound to happen when introduced by *estar* + *gerundio.*

According to Smith (1997, in Soto and Castro 2010), a sentence such as (33), which contains an achievement, focuses on the preparatory stages of the event.

(34)	Está	ganando	la carrera.
	be-Pres-3SG	win-gerund	the race

‘He is winning the race.’ (Soto and Castro 2010)

Bertinetto (2006 in Solo and Castro 2010) states that the use of the periphrasis with achievements generates either a preparatory value or a marked reading, indicating the precise moment of a state of affairs, as in (34). Mufwene (1984 in

Genta 2008) also believes that the progressive concedes extensiveness to achievements, turning them from unmarked forms to marked ones.

(35)	A las 5,	el sacerdote	estaba	muriendo.
	at the 5,	the priest	be-Imperf-3SG	die-gerund

‘At 5, the priest was dying.’ (Bertinetto 2006 in Solo and Castro 2010)

Both achievements and accomplishments receive a continuative reading when used with compound tenses of the progressive periphrasis, as opposed to non-periphrastic compound tenses, which cannot acquire a continuative value due to their overt telicity (García-Fernández 2006). Also, both accomplishments and achievements used with the progressive periphrasis can be analysed as describing a change of location or a change of state, as the former class has an activity and a state as its intrinsic subevents, while the latter can either act like accomplishments, in the sense that the predicate presents a preparatory stage, or are seen as a change of state, so they may be semantically defined through this change (García Fernández 2009).

The progressive with telic events (accomplishments and achievements) does not imply that the action does not reach its endpoint but simply that this remains unmentioned and un-inferable (García Moreno 2016).

The periphrasis can acquire an iterative value with achievements (Gili Gaya 1969). The construction is fully incompatible with certain predicates which denote punctual occurrences; a sentence such as (35) below is ungrammatical:

(36)	Alguien	está	dando	un grito.
	someone	be-Pres-3SG	give-gerund	a cry

‘Someone is giving a cry.’ (Gili & Gaya 1969)

This may be accounted for in terms of the focus on duration of *estar* + *gerundio.* Actually, according to Franch and Blecua (2001), the main semantic feature of *estar* + *gerundio* periphrasis is duration. For the progressive the authors mention the periphrases *ir* + *gerundio* and *venir* + *gerundio*; hence, in their account, a sentence like (36) would count as expressing the progressive aspect.

(37)	Mario	va	acumulando	muchos problemas.
	Mario	go-Pres-3SG	accumulate-gerund	many problems

‘Mario is accumulating a lot of problems.’

With semelfactives, which are non-durative, instantaneous predicates, the periphrasis acquires a *durativizer* value (García Fernández, 2009), implying the reiteration of the event, as in (35) below.

(38)	Entré	en la habitación	y	él	estaba
	enter-Pret-1SG	in the room	and	he	be-Imp-3SG
	estornudando	sin parar.			
	sneeze-gerund	without stopping			

‘I entered the room and he was sneezing without stopping’

1.3.4 The syntax of **estar + gerundio**

Hernández Alonso (1996) claims that the auxiliary verb is perfect for this verbal construction – *estar* + gerund – because it is stative and indicates permanency (cf. Fernández Ramírez 1986) and that in certain contexts, the periphrasis may be replaced with a pronominal form, but only in those cases when it does not represent an authentic periphrasis, such as (37), which can be transformed to *Lo está*.

(39)	El animal	está	pariendo.
	the animal	be-Pres-3SG	give birth-gerund

'The animal is giving birth' (Hernández Alonso 1996)

Some scholars believe that, within this periphrasis, the auxiliary verb *estar* has lost its original lexical value and has acquired a grammatical value of *continuative aspect*, while the gerund functions as the nucleus of the predication (Morera 1991). However, Morera (1991) believes that *estar* is the syntactic nucleus of the construction precisely for its lexical value (that of *situation*) and its categorial one (that of *process*). He claims that it keeps its localizing meaning in these constructions, but in a conceptual way, and that, consequentially, predicative, auxiliary and copular *estar* all share the same invariable connotation. In his view, this would justify why, in some contexts, the use of *estar* seems more natural in its combination with the gerund in certain verbal tenses (38a) than in others (38b).

40)	a.	Estuve	viviendo	cuatro años	en esta casa
		be-Pret-1SG	live-gerund	four years	in this house
		'I had been living for four years in this house'			
	b.	Estoy	viviendo	cuatro años	en esta casa.
		be-Pres-1SG	live-gerund	four years	in this house
		'I have been living for four years in this house'			

In Morera's view (1991), the periphrasis is a complex syntactic construction consisting of two verbal processes, the first one (*estar*) being the one which organises the universe of the discourse, as it provides structural contents such as person, tense and mood. For Gili & Gaya (1969), *estar* is an auxiliary verb with non-stative verbs and a somewhat copular verb with

state verbs. Regarding the auxiliary verb of this periphrasis, Diego Quesada (1995) states that it presents the state in which the event unfolds itself, acting like a frame around which the verbal action is represented.

According to Fernández Ramírez (1986), the verb *estar* comes from the latin *stare*, which meant "to stand", and keeps in its semantic sphere the notion of being in a certain place, at a certain time. The construction is frequently used with *verbos dicendi* and with predicates expressing various activities that are "sensitive to the eyes and ears", such as "to sing", "to cry", "to scream"; also with verbs which designate actions involving movement, like "to write" or "to play", and with predicates expressing much characterised attitudes, as is "to think" or "to sleep" (Fernández Ramírez 1986). According to the author, it combines with these types of verbs because, in some contexts, it highlights the singularity of the event instead of emphasizing the permanency or habit-like aspect of an action, as the simple non-periphrastic forms at imperfective tenses do.

Regarding its internal structure, the periphrasis is presented as having a high degree of grammaticalization, as it allows for meteorological verbs and existential constructions, which is why *estar* does not select the subject and the gerund is responsible for selecting the arguments. What is more, the periphrasis allows for clitics bounding (García-Fernández 2006).

In Moreno Burgos's view (2016), the gerund is believed not to have an aspectual value but rather to describe a situation (state or event), i.e. a manner of being or of acting, while the verb *estar* is considered to identify the intermediate

stages of an event. The author states that there are actually only two internal stages to an event and that the *estar + gerundio* periphrasis focuses on the first one.

Considering the dynamicity of the construction, even though he pleads for the dynamicity of the construction, García Fernández (2006) believes that is also shares some syntactic properties with states, such as its inability of being employed in an imperative structure. Another common trait is that, if the periphrasis is combined with the particle *al* (roughly translated to *as*), as happens in (39) below, it can never acquire a temporal reading, only a causal one, which is precisely what happens in the case of states.

(41) Al estar acabando la carta, no respondió
As be-Inf finish-gerund the letter, not answer-Pret-3SG
al teléfono.
the telephone
'As he was finishing the letter, he did not answer the telephone' (García Fernández 2006)

One extra argument in favour of the resemblance of the progressive periphrasis with stative predicates is the following: when subordinated by a *verbo dicendi*, such as "to say", both stative verbs and the periphrasis discussed have a simultaneous reading rather than a habitual one, specific solely to non-stative predicates. Hence, in a sentence like (40), the only available reading is that the person is saying that he is reading while he is actually reading the newspaper (there is a relationship of simultaneity between the two actions).

(42) Dice estar leyendo el periódico.
say-Pres-3SG be-Inf read-gerund the diary
'He says he is reading the diary' (García Fernández 2006)

García Fernández (2009) also believes that the syntactic behaviour of the periphrasis is similar to that of states. He mentions that its dynamism comes from the temporal ordering of the states which the periphrasis is divided into, that compulsorily lead to a change of location or of state; hence, the periphrasis semantically acts like a dynamic predicate, but syntactically like a state, just like in any other case of grammaticalization.

According to Bosque & Demonte (1999), when the initial point of a durative action is explicitly specified, the periphrasis is usually used at imperfective tenses and it is compulsorily employed at perfective ones. Also, when the final point of a durative action is mentioned in a sentence, the periphrasis is preferred at imperfective tenses, as it has the ability of focusing on the unfoldment of an event which a non-periphrastic form lacks. Fernández Ramírez (1986) claims that the periphrasis has been employed from the very beginning with simple tenses, but that compound tenses and the passive voice started to be employed in the more modern era. Also, Granville Hatcher (in Fernández Ramírez 1986) mentions that the construction at an imperfective tense can be employed both with continuative and with terminative predicates.

As for the temporal localisation of an action, the periphrasis may present the action after its beginning or before its ending, which can be achieved either by contrasting it with another gradation, which involves the usage of another periphrastic construction, like in (41) or by making use of the adverbs "ya" ("already") and "todavía/aun" ("still"), labelled as *aspectual adverbs* (Fernández de Castro 1999).

(43) Creo que está despegando
believe-Pres-1SG that be-Pres-3SG take off-gerund
y no acaba de despegar.
and not finish take off-Inf
'I believe that it is taking off and it doesn't finish taking off' (Fernández de Castro 1999)

According to Diego Quesada (1995), the progressive construction was initially employed with locative purposes which was grammaticalized and is currently used to "update" the action expressed by the verb. Concerning the aspectual characteristics of the periphrasis, the linguist states that the opposition [± progressive] is mainly valid in the present tense, between the periphrastic form, representing the progressive aspect, and the non-periphrastic form, representing the non-progressive aspect. In the past, nonetheless, it is neutralised and replaced by the opposition generated by the perfective/ imperfective aspect (*estuve/estaba* + *gerund*).

There are cases where the periphrasis cannot be used. Bosque & Demonte (1999) mention that it is not employed in exclamatory sentences, unless in the present tense and combined with the adverb *ya* 'already' or *ahora mismo* 'right now' (González et al. 2006); this value is used exclusively in informal language and in this situation, it can express an order, an impolite or very assertive one (González et al. 2006) as happens in (42). This is an instantiation of the inchoative value of the periphrasis, accompanied by an expressive, more emphatic one and an anticipatory feature because the speaker presents the action as if it were already occurring (Gómez Torrego 1988).

(44) ¡Ya	lo	estás	haciendo!
already	it	be-Pres-2SG	do-gerun

'You're already doing it.' (Bosque & Demonte 1999)

According to Fernández-Ramírez (1986), the formula is rarely associated with a negation adverb and when it is, it appears in almost all of the cases in an exclamatory context as a rejection of an accusation being brought to the speaker.

Some verbs acquire the label of "unfolding action" when used with the progressive periphrasis and that of "state" when used with non-periphrastic equivalents, like "to see" (*ver*), exemplified in (43): (43a.) comes to signify that my activity is watching TV, while (43b.) means that I am unable to see it from that angle. (Raya et al. 2017)

(45) a. Estoy	viendo	la tele.
be-Pres-1SG	see-gerund	the TV

'I am watching TV'

b. Desde aquí	no veo	la tele.
from here	not see-Pres-3SG	the TV

'From here I cannot see the TV'

Among the verbs which cannot be used with *estar* + *gerundio*, Bosque & Demonte (1999) names modal verbs, verbs referring to qualities and verbs expressing permanent states (intellectual or emotional states), although the last category has exceptions when the states in question receive an intensive interpretation. González et al. (2006) labels "to know", "to have", when it means "to own", "to wear" and "to own" as being unusable with the progressive periphrasis.

1.3.5 Conclusions and predictions for L2 learning

Therefore, the periphrasis is employed when the speaker wants to express an unfolding state of affairs, be it an event or a state, as it endows the predicate with a durative and/or dynamic value. Moreover, the construction can be used in a wide range of contexts and can acquire some other aspectual nuances apart from the basic ones.

Although it has some syntactical and semantical restrictions, L2 learners should not experience difficulties when acquiring this progressive construction. What might cause confusion is its usage with achievements and semelfactives, since they are non-durative types of events, and also with states, as they lack dynamism. On the whole, nonetheless, the periphrasis is flexible and not class-restricted; the interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect and/or the native language are, hence, the factors which may most influence the learning of the construction.

Chapter 2.
On the learning of the progressive aspect in L2/L3 Spanish

2.1 Aim

The aim of this chapter is to identify the main issues and the main findings of previous studies on the learning of the progressive in L2/L3 Spanish. The chapter is organized as follows: in section 2.2 I identify the main issues in the acquisition of aspect, in general, Section 2.3 deals with the acquisition of the progressive, in particular, and Section 2.4 discusses transfer in L3 learning.

2.2 Issues in the acquisition/learning of aspect

One influential hypothesis with respect to the acquisition of aspect is the Aspect Hypothesis, according to which "first and second language learners will initially be influenced by the inherent semantic aspect of verbs or predicates in the acquisition of tense and aspect markers associated or affixed to these verbs" (Andersen & Shirai 1994: 133). During the early stages of acquisition, learners will preferentially use perfective markers with punctual and telic predicates (achievements and accomplishments), imperfective

markers with atelic predicates (states and activities) and progressive markers with dynamic, atelic ones, which are activities. In their view, "the learners' interpretation of verbal morphology appears to be correlated to lexical aspect rather than tense itself" (Salaberry & Shirai 2002: 4). Hence, the progressive is mainly employed with activity verbs by learners in the early stages of language proficiency (Shirai & Andersen 1995 in Gabriele et al. 2015) and it is then used with accomplishments and achievements. Interestingly, in L1 acquisition, no overextention of the progressive to state predicates was attested, whereas such overgeneralizations are found in L2 learning (Li and Shirai 2000).

A theory related to the *Aspect Hypothesis* is the *Prototype Hypothesis*, proposed by the same Shirai & Andersen (1995, in Gabriele et al. 2015: 117), which states that children "acquire a linguistic category starting with the prototype of the category and later expand its application to less prototypical cases". For the progressive, activities represent the prototype. During the early stages, children acquiring English, for example, will use the progressive mainly with activities; they will gradually extend its use to the other classes of predicates: to accomplishments and achievements. A similar route has been attested in L2 learning.

Slabakova & Montrul (2002) argues that one's native language does have an influence on the L2 learning of aspect. Differences between the two languages pose difficulties in acquiring the aspectual properties of the L2 (for example, when it comes to distinguishing between telic and atelic predicates). Nevertheless, second language learners can

"successfully acquire the aspectual interpretation in an L2" (Hsien-jen Chin, 2008: 36).

According to Goodin-Mayeda & Rothman (2007: 144), "adult L2 ultimate attainment is possible in the domain of the [+/- perfective] contrast, substantiated by L2 knowledge of an associated semantic entailment." These authors adopt the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996), according to which the initial state of the grammar of the second learners is their L1 grammar and, moreover, the interlanguage grammar (which is a restructuring of the L1 grammar occurring when the L1 grammar cannot account for the properties of the L2 input) is UG constrained. They argue that L2 learners are able to acquire features which are non-existent in their L1 because of UG access. Thus, they bring evidence for the fact that UG-accessibility is not an L1-restricted domain, but that L2 learners also have complete, unrestricted access to UG.

According to Pérez-Leroux et al. (2008), it is extremely important to determine what causes the differences between first language acquisition in children and second language acquisition in adults and one of the main difficulties in doing this is establishing the extent to which these differences are based on non-native grammatical representations and the role played by performance factors. Slabakova and Montrul (2002) consider performance to be the main responsible in aspect attainment, in the sense that for L2 speakers it is not an easy task to combine new pragmatic knowledge with aspectual one that they already have. Pragmatic knowledge refers, in their study, to "the real-world knowledge that speakers bring to the use of language" (Slabakova & Montrul 2002: 632) and that is

the result of cognitive development. However, Slabakova (2002 in Pérez-Leroux et al., 2008) claims that "complex aspect-eventuality combinations add processing time for all types of speakers, leading to a decline in performance that would be most apparent for L2 speakers" (Pérez-Leroux et al., 2008: 433).

This is due to the fact that she considers the morphology-syntax interface to be the most problematic issue in language acquisition amongst internal interfaces, which is known as the *Bottleneck Hypothesis*. In other words, the acquisition of functional morphemes and of their features poses most issues in L2 learning, as functional morphology is more vulnerable than syntax or semantics or than any type of interface.

Interfaces represent the interaction between different language modules (syntax, morphology etc.) (Burkhardt, 2005, Jackendoff, 2002, Ramchand and Reiss 2007 in Montrul 2011) and are divided into internal and external ones. According to White 2009 (in Montrul 2011), internal interfaces establish the connection between modules within the language system, while external ones are responsible for linking language domains with outer cognition domains, such as pragmatics. Following this distinction, Tsimpli and Sorace (2006) and Sorace and Serratrice (2009) (in Montrul 2011) believe that the syntax-discourse interface, which is an external one, poses most difficulties for both L2 and L1 language speakers. This is known in the literature as the *Interface Vulnerability Hypothesis.* Due to these difficulties, in both first and second language learners, the phenomenon of incomplete acquisition occurs, which means that they do not attain complete linguistic competence, and, in most adult L2 learners, this even leads to *fossilization* (Montrul, 2011).

According to Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), English verbs are morphologically "naked", as one form is capable of conveying multiple verbal meanings, while Spanish has a much richer verbal morphology, with inflected forms for person, number and tense. The linguists then make a very interesting claim for the present study, that predicates expressing events in present tense are intrinsically conceded the [+perfective] feature. This means that a sentence such as **Mary reads a book now* is considered ungrammatical in English, as it cannot be employed to express an unfolding action and requires a Progressive form, while its Spanish counterpart *María lee un libro ahora* can freely receive a continuous interpretation. In their view, this clearly shows that Spanish lacks the feature [+perfective] with eventive verbs in the present tense. Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) explain the phenomenon through the aforementioned features associated with the English verbal morphology (the verbal "naked" forms). Syntactically, they represent tense and aspect in English and Spanish (AspP, checking perfective aspect, and ProgP, checking progressive aspect, are represented as two separate categories) in the following manner:

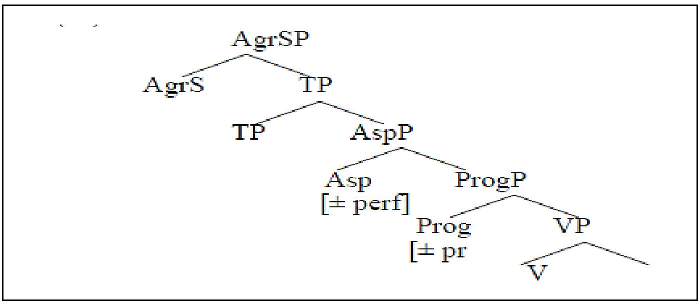


Figure 1. Tense and aspect syntactical representation in English and Spanish (Giorgi & Pianesi, 1997)

Even though the syntactical tree looks the same for the two languages, they are differentiated through the features associated with each of them, as English has a [+perfective] feature for all event-type verbs, while Spanish doesn't (it does have, however, person and number features, lacking in English). Following their approach, Slabakova & Montrul (2002) have proposed that "the acquisition of aspectual differences is determined by the lack of instantiation of [± perfective] morphosyntactic features" (in Cuza 2010: 188), which trigger the acquisition of semantical features.

Schmitt (2001 in Cuza 2010), on the other hand, argues that nearly the same morphosyntactic features can instantiate different aspectual interpretations, so morphosyntax, in his view, does not depend on semantics. His examples include a comparison between Spanish, Portuguese and English with a predicate in the present tense. He states that, even though Portuguese and Spanish both need morphological inflections bound to the verbal form in order to convey that specific tense, Spanish allows an ongoing reading with events, while Portuguese doesn't (it has already been established and mentioned above that neither does English).

Another hypothesis formulated to account for L2 acquisition is the Feature Reassembly Hypothesis (Lardiere 2008), which argues that the challenge for an L2 learner is reconfiguring L1 features that differ – from a morpholexical perspective – from L2 features into new structures which match the morphological and lexical properties of the L2.

After this brief presentation of some of the issues in the l2 learning of aspect, the present study will focus exclusively

on the acquisition of aspect in L2 Spanish and, more specifically, of the Spanish progressive.

2.3 The acquisition of the progressive in L2 Spanish

The literature on aspect in L2 Spanish focuses on the correlation between lexical aspect and grammatical aspect (The Aspect/Prototype Hypothesis) and the availability of L1 transfer. Concerning the Spanish progressive aspect in L2 speakers, authors such as Márquez Martínez (2009), Sánchez-Muñoz (2004) or Klein (1980) (in Fafulas 2010) focus on English-Spanish bilinguals and suggest that transfer from L1 is the main responsible for the lexical choice between the synthetic (present simple tense) and the analytical (progressive periphrasis) forms. However, in order to be able to determine exactly which factors are taken into account when selecting one or the other form and which aspectual properties are associated with each form in language use, it is necessary to take a closer look at the linguistic behavior of native speakers.

Andersen (1986, 1991) and Andersen & Shirai (1994, 1995) in Fafulas (2010) propose a hypothesis named "the Primacy of Aspect", claiming that it is the intrinsic aspect-related semantical values of the verb which dictate speakers' aspectual choice. Fafulas (2010) mentions that, according to the aforementioned authors, this proposal is based on two main interconnected principles: "the predisposal of the distribution" and "the principle of congruency". The first one refers to the link established between durative predicates and the progressive form, which naturally leads to a preference for

and to a greater number of uses of the analytical form with the stated type of predicates than with non-durative verbs. The second postulate considers the relation between the meaning of a verbal morpheme and the lexical meaning of the predicate: there is a higher chance of using a certain verbal inflection with a verb which carries intrinsic semantic properties that are closer to those associated with that particular inflection. Evidence supporting this view is visible in English, where Bybee et al. 1994 (in Fafulas 2010) state that the morpheme *-ing* is tightly related to activity predicates because they have features of dynamicity and duration which inherently characterise the *-ing* inflection.

According to Shirai & Andersen (1995 in Gabriele et al. 2015), the progressive is prototypically expressed through an activity (in present tense), which is an atelic predicate and which in later stages is extended to telic predicates, like accomplishments and achievements. In their view, the Spanish progressive is characterized by a sequence of values which one acquires in the following order:

> **"process (activity -> accomplishment) > iterative > habitual or futurate > stative progressive"** (Gabriele et al. 2015: 118).

Within this proposal, in lower proficiency levels, during the first stages of acquisition, each grammatical construction is associated with one meaning, while what is known as multifunctionality (Bardovi-Harlig 2012 in Gabriele et al. 2015), defined as the ability to associate multiple values to one form, only becomes active in later stages of language learning.

Therefore, the *Protoype Hypothesis* considers that a Spanish learner will initially use the present progressive to convey an action in progress, while the habitual or futurate value, for example, will appear at a later developmental stage (Gabriele et al. 2015). However, the question that arises here is if this is still valid for learners whose L1 (or L2, if we consider Spanish to be L3, as in the case of the present study) has the less prototypical meanings embedded in the progressive marker of the respective language. A study carried out by Gass & Ard (1984 in Gabriele et al. 2015) shows that the hypothesis is indeed valid even in the cases where the progressive in the speakers' L1 encodes less prototypical features, implying that transfer is restricted only to properties considered prototypical.

Progressive constructions are a grammatical aspect where transfer is expected to occur in Spanish in contexts of Spanish and English bilingualism, since both languages possess the morphological means to form said constructions, but which "have only partially similar conditions of use, thus creating pragmatic spaces which have been shown to promote transfer" (Sánchez-Muñoz 2004: 16).

As stated above, Klein (1980, in Fafulas 2010) proposes that the main factor influencing the lexical choice of the analytical or the synthetic forms of the present progressive in bilingual speakers of English and Spanish is transfer from the other language. Klein (1980) in Fafulas (2010) bases her claim and justifies the preference for the Spanish progressive form of bilinguals (compared to monolinguals who make more use of the synthetical form) through the involuntary mental association made by speakers between the analytical form of

their native language (Spanish) and the English *-ing* form. According to Klein (1980) (in Fafulas 2010), this is an unconscious connection which transcribes in the preferred lexical choice of the speakers because it does not affect the grammaticality of the normed use in Spanish; while if it were the other way around, they would be aware that Spanish allows the non-synthetical form to convey an ongoing reading, while English does not. In other words, they tend to choose the variant considered correct in both languages. Koontz-Garboden (2004 in Fafulas 2010) also considers that bilinguals prefer the analytical form in contexts expressing an ongoing action because the two linguistic systems are congruent, which makes transfer of this form easier for a Spanish-English bilingual.

Apart from the influence of English in the choice of L2 Spanish speakers between the periphrastic and the non-periphrastic forms noticed by Klein (1980), translated into transfer from L1, Fafulas (2010) notices that the aspectual class and the meaning of the adverb used also play an important role in their lexical preferences, as the Aspect Hypothesis (Andersen & Shirai 1995 in Fafulas 2010) suggests. In order to support this view, Fafulas (2009) found that "stative verbs almost categorically disfavored variation, as they strongly favored the simple present form, while dynamic verbs (activities, achievements, and accomplishments) all favored variation" (in Fafulas 2010: 8). Nonetheless, Fafulas (2010) observed that, while states were still solely associated with the simple present, there was also no variation for activities, as there was no acceptability of the simple present with activities,

the only tense accepted with this type of predicates being the present progressive. Variation in the case of achievements and accomplishments is justified by the speaker's acknowledgement of the fact that selecting one or the other form means emphasizing one of the semantic features which these types of predicates carry, such as [+/- durative] or [+ dynamic] (Fafulas 2010). According to Fafulas (2010), achievements do not explicitly favour the synthetical form.

Contextual cues such as adverbs are also taken into account by Spanish speakers when selecting one or the other form, as they bring changes to the whole meaning of the verbal structure; on the contrary, their absence increases the level of awareness of the speaker when employing the analytical or the synthetical form because aspect (and, implicitly, duration or non-duration) can only be conveyed through morphological markers and semantic choice. Adverbs of immediacy (such as *ahora* "right now") favour the periphrastic form, while habitual adverbs do not (Fafulas 2010).

Regarding the acquisition of the Spanish progressive, Perez-Cortes (2012: 38) states that "Spanish L2 learners tend to reconfigure the present progressive features erroneously", which happens when they have failed to internalize the feature mappings, i.e. the features associated to the respective parameter, and generalize the L1 configuration to the target language" (Perez Cortes 2012). Hence, L1 transfer and lexical aspect of the predicate are the most important factors influencing the choice of the speaker related to aspectual matters and the most common cause of "divergent behavior" (Perez Cortes 2012: 40). According to Andersen & Shirai (1996

in Gabriele et al. 2015: 119), however, the L2 acquisition of the progressive is determined by more factors, including "prototypes, L1 transfer, frequency, and verb class".

L1 transfer is also a factor causing English speakers to map the English Past Progressive with the Spanish Imperfect and the English Simple Past with the Preterite, which would lead to a valid reading for events, but not for states, as they are theoretically incompatible with the progressive (Slabakova & Montrul 2002). Nonetheless, the data from their study did not confirm this hypothesis, possibly because of the high level of language mastery the participants had, which prevented L1 transfer, although there is no clear, well-established, generally accepted level after which transfer is not considered a feasible phenomenon.

Transfer (from English) in the case of Spanish progressive constructions is also confirmed as a consequential phenomenon in Spanish bilinguals, through a greater usage of the periphrasis *estar + gerundio* (Sánchez-Muñoz 2004) in those situations restricted to the usage of the progressive form in English, but allowing for both forms in Spanish. Since it is entirely grammatical to employ the progressive form instead of the simple one in present contexts in Spanish, the only element which would make transfer visible within the Spanish progressive aspect is a higher frequency of use (Klein 1980 in Sánchez-Muñoz 2004).

There is also a distinction to be made between transfer and linguistic contact as factors influencing lexical choice of L2 Spanish speakers. Pérez-Cortes (2012), for example, shows that Spanish-English bilinguals tend to overuse the future value of the

progressive, especially with activity predicates. Nonetheless, this phenomenon could be caused by transfer from English or by contact with Spanish varieties in Latin America which allow for a futurate reading.

Moreover, related to the usage of the progressive in present tense by advanced non-native speakers, Geeslin & Fafulas (2012) found in an empirical study that it is favoured by animate subjects and subordinate clauses, which is a very similar linguistic behaviour to that of native Spanish speakers. Also, in contrast with the general belief that L2 speakers of Spanish tend to overuse the present progressive, Geeslin & Fafulas's study (2012) shows that non-natives do, indeed, employ this verbal form with a higher frequency, but there is no proof of overgeneralization[2], since there are the same syntactic triggers for the present progressive in both native and non-native language use. Hence, the study brought evidence that "learners of Spanish are indeed capable of acquiring the complex set of constraints underlying NS use of the simple present and present progressive verb forms" (Geeslin & Fafulas 2012: 191). This implies that L2 speakers of Spanish can successfully reset their semantic mappings on the basis of the input they are provided – with an aspect-related variable.

Cuza & Otero (2016), on the other hand, show an overextension of the simple present with ongoing readings, instead of the present progressive, and "in present progressive

[2] The principle of generality states that linguistic forms whose usage is highly diffused and requires less constraints will be generalized (Sánchez-Muñoz 2004).

contexts with ongoing and habitual meanings" (Cuza & Otero 2016: 482) for L2 Spanish, L1 English speakers. In other words, they prefer the simple form in contexts where native Spanish speakers predominantly employ the progressive one; and this may be due to its simpler morphology and less aspectual constraints. According to Gabriele et al. (2015: 120), "this type of scenario in which learners overgeneralize a property from the L1 to the L2 has been referred to as the 'preemption problem' (Trahey & White 1993) and has been shown to cause difficulty even for advanced learners in the domain of aspect".

Gabriele et al. (2015) comments upon transfer of the habitual and futurate readings of the present progressive in a contrastive study between English and Spanish, providing evidence for the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis and against the Prototype one, because the L2 learners of Spanish in early stages (with English as their L1) showed acceptance of the habitual value, which is correct in both English and Spanish, and also of the futurate one, which is only grammatical in English (and in some Latin-American variants of Spanish, but not in peninsular Spanish. According to Gabriele et al. (2015: 150), "these results suggest that the properties of the L1 can facilitate the acquisition of non-prototypical interpretations, even for early leaners. In addition, ruling out interpretations which are available in the L1 but not the L2 presents a challenge, even for less prototypical meanings".

Summing up, previous studies on the progressive in L2 Spanish confirm the general predictions made in the previous Chapter, that L1 has a considerable impact on the learning of aspect in an L2, together with the lexical aspect of the

predicate. More specifically, they show that L2 learners of Spanish with English as their L1 prefer the progressive to the simple form due to L1 transfer, i.e. because it is the accepted variant in both languages. Also, they sometimes even overuse or overgeneralize it to futurate readings, showing evidence for the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis.

2.4 On transfer in L3 learning

As shown in the previous section, previous studies investigated the progressive in L2 Spanish, in most cases in an L1 English context. But the investigation of the progressive in L3 Spanish could provide important data with respect to transfer in language learning. In this section I will make an initial brief description of transfer in second languages and I will then discuss the phenomenon in the context of learning a third language, which is of most interest for the purpose of the present study.

During the learning process, transfer from L1 to L2 is inevitable and it is defined as "the incorporation and use of elements and structures from the native language, or another previously acquired language, during acquisition" (Weinreich 1953, Gass 1996 in Cuza 2010: 190). The piece of information mentioned between commas in the last part of the definition is of great value for the present thesis, because it introduces the idea that transfer may also be done from another L2, not exclusively from the native language, which is what the present thesis proposes to establish: whether in the case of an

L3 transfer occurs from the L1 or from the L2 when it comes to the progressive aspect.

According to Sánchez-Muñoz (2004: 16), "the transfer of features from one language into another is a common strategy used by bilinguals to cope with the task of using two different linguistic systems. However, the definition suggests that transfer is an intentional phenomenon, when, in reality, it is considered to be more an involuntary one which occurs when certain parameters of the target language have not yet been reset and are still occupied by features characterizing a previously acquired language.

Nonetheless, there have been different approaches formulated on the extent to which a linguistic apparatus allows for syntactic properties from a different language to influence it (Sánchez-Muñoz 2004). Weinreich (1974 in Sánchez-Muñoz 2004) believes that transfer only happens in those domains of the target language which are "structurally weak", i.e. which contain unstable interrelations. There is another belief in the literature, supported by Thomason and Kaufman (1988 in Sánchez-Muñoz 2004), which reasons for complete liberty when it comes to transferring elements from one language to another. A third view put forth by Silva-Corvalán (1994 in Sánchez-Muñoz 2004) argues that "the permeability of a grammar depends on the existence of structures that are parallel in some way in the languages in contact" (Sánchez-Muñoz 2004: 17). In this sense, transfer is then visible when speakers show either a higher frequency of use of the analysed form or an "extension or reduction of function of a form" or both (Sánchez-Muñoz 2004: 28).

Thence, there are many hypotheses which discuss the transferable elements in an L2/L3 context. However, this paper will adopt the Full Access/Full Transfer one (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996), since it is the hypothesis on which studies of L3 learning are really based on.

Transfer plays a crucial role when it comes to learning a new language, because the parameters for lexical and semantic, but especially morphological and syntactic aspects are already set and stored in one's brain for the native language. Because of this, the learning of a new language is no easy task, as it comes with the cost of resetting and re-setting the L1–parameters with the grammatical and lexical values of the L2. Lardiere (2009 in Perez-Cortes 2012) refers to the reassembling and remapping of L1's features in order for them to correspond to those of the L2 with the term "second language task" and describes the phenomenon as a "process of feature reassembly (FR)" (Domínguez et al. 2017: 437). Nevertheless, L2 learners do not solely need to rearrange linguistic features, but also "effectively reconfigure L1 features which do not have the same morpholexical expressions in the L2" (Domínguez et al. 2017: 437) and to internalize a "different viewpoint" (Perez-Cortes 2012: 39), which is undoubtedly the most challenging part of the task.

Montrul (2002) and Sorace (2000) (in Cuza 2010) proposed that transfer impacts on the syntax-pragmatics and syntax-semantics interfaces, which includes tense and aspect, and which leads to variability in L2. This suggests that the semantics associated with tense and aspect inflections may not be entirely acquired by an L2 learner because of transfer from

the semantic properties of L1 (Cuza 2010). According to Cuza-Blanco (2008: 62), "if transfer indeed affects the syntax/ semantics/ discourse interface and the interpretable features associated with different options in the L1 and L2, then tense and aspect would be prime candidates for variability and transfer among English-Spanish bilinguals". Hence, the difficulties encountered by L2 learners of Spanish can also be accounted for by transfer of semantic properties from English (Cuza-Blanco 2008).

What is more, the speaker's L1 may lack the morphological means of expressing a certain grammatical notion and in turn express it via lexical substitutes (as happens with Romanian, which does not have a marked form to express the progressive, with the possible exception of the *–ind* marker); in this case, the acquisition of the grammatical notion in the L2 is more likely to pose issues. According to Weinreich (1974 in Sánchez-Muñoz 2004: 18), the similarities between English and Spanish in expressing the present progressive aspect represent "potential sources of transfer in situations of contact due to the bilinguals' tendency to equate the two systems in function as well as in form".

There are four possible models of L3 transfer: "no transfer, absolute L1 transfer, absolute L2 transfer, and transfer of the L1 or L2" (Amaro et al. 2015: 23); among these, only the last three will be discussed, as they are of interest for the present paper.

The first hypothesis, *absolute L1 transfer*, is based on the primacy of the native language and it claims that L1 is the only transfer source for an L3; it either arguments that L1 functions

like a barrier preventing learners from accessing an L2 or that independent L2 representations are non-existent, since the initial state for adult learners is always L1 and there is no access to UG after a certain age (Amaro et al. 2015). According to Amaro et al. (2015), even though there are studies which bring evidence supporting this hypothesis, it has never been formally proposed.

The second theory proposed on L3 transfer is the *L2 Status Factor*, where "the initial state of the L3 morphosyntax is the L2 grammar" (Amaro et al. 2015: 25), which is favored by a *modus operandi* that operates at a metalinguistic level (Bardel & Falk 2012). This means that, in their view, two non-native languages are more cognitively similar and, thus, transfer from L2 is more justified to obtain than from L1.

One of the models which states that transfer comes from both L1 and L2 in an L3 context is the *Cumulative Enhancement Model* or CEM (Flynn et al. 2004); according to this model, "existing language systems have a cumulative effect on subsequent language acquisition, such that any previously acquired system can potentially shape the path of L3 development" (Amaro et al. 2015: 26). Within this framework and in opposition with the L2 Status Factor, transfer solely obtains if it is beneficial to the learning of the respective property (Flynn et al. 2004).

The last hypothesis also claims that L1 and L2 represent source-languages for transfer in L3 and is named the *Typological Primacy Model* or TPM (Rothman 2010). The difference from the previous model is related, nonetheless, to the elements which are being transferred. While for the

Cumulative Enhancement Model only facilitative transfer occurs, this model, following the Full Access Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996) in L2 contexts, predicts non-facilitative transfer as well in an L3 environment, because all features will be transferred to L3, regardless of their utility status, once the linguistic system has been identified as structurally similar with the L3 (Rothman 2010). Within this approach, as soon as the L3 learner has sufficient input allowing him/her to assess contiguity, he/she will determine which of the two initial languages (L1 or L2) shows more *typological proximity* and will consequently transfer it to the L3. In other words, "syntactic properties of the closest (psycho)-typological language, either the L1 or L2, constitute the initial state hypotheses in multilingualism, whether or not such transfer constitutes the most economical option" (Rothman 2011: 7).

For the learning of aspect in L3, absolute L1 transfer would imply that, in the case of a lack of overt markers for expressing a certain type of aspect (the progressive aspect, for example) in the L1, transfer would not obtain at all.

In the L2 Status Factor model (Bardel & Falk 2012), the aspect-related behaviour of the learner is expected to be the same as in the previous model, except that the language dictating transfer is L2 instead of L1.

The CEM hypothesis (Flynn et al. 2004), on the other hand, is the one facilitating the acquisition of aspect in L3, since transfer both from L1 and from L2 is possible, but only when it proves beneficial to the L3 of the learner. In other words, similar aspectual properties will be transferred to L3,

making aspectual markers easier to process and to use, while in those respects where the two or/and three languages differ, transfer of aspectual features will not obtain.

The TPM model (Rothman 2010) may or may not facilitate aspect acquisition in L3 because, once the learner determines which is the closest typological language to L3, transfer of aspectual features from that language will occur and this also includes aspect-related nuances which may not be of use, leading to grammatical and/or pragmatical errors such as overextension.

Chapter 3.
The progressive aspect in L3 Spanish in an L1 Romanian L2 English context

3.1 Aim and organization

The aim of the present chapter is to investigate the learning of the progressive aspect in L3 Spanish by learners whose language background is Romanian as L1 and English as L2 with a view to evaluating the explanatory adequacy of the available hypotheses with respect to transfer in L3 learning: the absolute L1 transfer hypothesis, the Typology Primacy Model, the L2 transfer hypothesis and the Cumulative Enhancement model (see section 2.4 in Chapter 2).

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 3.2 focuses on the predictions of the present study, starting from a description of the English progressive in 3.2.1. Section 3.2.2 deals with the progressive viewpoint in Romanian, Section 3.2.3 presents the research questions of the present experimental study and, in Section 3.2.4, the predictions for the progressive in L3 Spanish are mentioned. Section 3.3 presents the participants and Section 3.4 – the methodology of the study. In 3.5 I present the results which I discuss in 3.6. Section 3.7 presents the conclusions.

3.2 Predictions for the progressive in L3 Spanish in an L1 Romanian L2 English setting

3.2.1 The English progressive

3.2.1.1 Core meaning

This sub-section will deal with the English progressive with a view to identifying the main similarities with the Spanish progressive as well as the main differences. A brief description of the English progressive is provided, following the same structure used for the Spanish progressive in Chapter 1. It identifies the core value of the progressive, followed by a description of the contextually-marked values which it may receive, in combination with the aspectual classes of predicates.

In English, the progressive viewpoint is marked by the –*ing* morpheme.

According to Jespersen (1932), the progressive represents an event as a temporal frame around some other event or moment in time. The frame time must be specific.

(1) Bob was making tea **at 5 o'clock.**
(2) Bob is making tea **now**.
(3) **At 5.00 tomorrow** Bob will be making tea.

However, this view cannot account for situations like the ones illustrated in (4) below, where the progressive can no longer be interpreted as a "frame" around some event or moment of time (Kearns 1991):

(4) a. John was crossing the street when a bike hit him.
b. I was dreaming when the alarm clock woke me up.
c. John was playing the guitar when I was playing the flute.

The examples in (4) show that the progressive does not always have a framing effect; in particular, they show that the time of reference is not necessarily shorter than the time of the event (Kearns 1991), i.e. the time of reference is not necessarily included in the time of the event.

Several recent studies define the progressive viewpoint as locating the time of the event at or around the time of reference. According to Kearns (1991), the core contribution of the progressive is that it locates the reported event at/around RT (see also Huddleston 2002). It focuses on the internal stages of an event.

It is an important property of English that it requires the progressive viewpoint to refer to events which are unfolding at a time of reference. Languages like Spanish or Romanian use an aspectually "simple" form in this case which in English is illicit:

(5)	a. Romanian:	Sofia	vorbește	acum	la telefon.
		Sofia	talk-Pres-3SG	now	at phone
	b. Spanish:	Sofía	habla	por teléfono	ahora.
		Sofía	talk-Pres-3SG	over phone	now

c. English: Sofia is talking on the phone now. / *Sofia talks on the phone now.

However, Spanish, unlike Romanian, also employs the progressive structure *estar* + gerund to refer to an event unfolding at a specific RT (in this case *now*), as in (6) below:

(6)	Sofía	está	hablando	por teléfono	ahora.
	Sofía	be-Pres-3SG	talk-gerund	over phone	now
	'Sofia	is	talking	on the phone	now.'

English allows only temporary states to be presented by aspectually “simple” forms (see 7 below):

(7) a. John is angry.
    b. I am tired.
    c. They are in the garden right now.

Regarding the similarities and differences between the two constructions, a noteworthy detail to mention is the fact that the distinction between the simple and the periphrastic form in Spanish, where the former receives a habitual reading and the latter presents a stage of an event in progress, is not as clear-cut as the one in English between simple and progressive tenses (García Fernández, 2009). This means that a Spanish non-periphrastic form can be easily interpreted as describing an action in its unfoldment and, also, that *estar + gerundio* can receive a habitual interpretation, but only in specific constructions where it acquires an “intense” value, conveying emotional involvement (see Section 1.3.2). However, in this respect, it resembles the English progressive, whose habitual use is also restricted to those contexts where it adds a subjective/modal flavour to the sentence (see Section 3.2.1.4 below).

Events in the progressive viewpoint are presented as having (limited) duration. According to Leech (1971), the difference between (8a) and (8b) below is that only in (8b) the event is presented as having duration:

(8) a. I raise my arm.
    b. I am raising my arm.

But duration is always of the "limited" type[3], since the progressive situation is associated with temporariness, as can be seen in (9):

(9) a. I enjoy movies.
b. I am enjoying this movie.

Since the progressive focuses on internal stages of situations, these are presented as incomplete:

(10) a. I am writing a book.
b. They are building a house.

One more semantic feature contributed by the progressive is dynamism: it does not normally combine with states and when it does, those are either converted to an agentive activity (as in 11a) or the progressive expresses gradual development (like in 11b), which are all linked to the idea of dynamism.

(11) a. She is being rude today.
b. She is loving him more and more.

Since activities are dynamic and durative events, they appear in the progressive with no formal restrictions (Smith 1997).

(12) a. He was jogging yesterday when I saw him.
b. They are cycling in the woods at the moment.

[3] One has to distinguish between the general imperfective, which is associated with duration, and the progressive, which is associated with limited duration.

Summing up, in English the progressive viewpoint locates the time of the event at/around the time of reference. It denotes a temporary incomplete happening that holds (at least) at the time of reference (Avram 2019 and references therein). This is why the situation denoted by a progressive predicate is viewed as having limited duration (temporariness), as dynamic and as incomplete.

The fact that the progressive aspect indicates limited duration or temporariness is, according to Huddleston (2002: 168), a mere implicature that depends on the type of predicate employed:

> "Attention is often drawn to the paradox that in some cases the progressive conveys limited duration (13), whereas in others it conveys extended duration, most obviously in cases like (14), where it gives duration to a situation that would otherwise be punctual. The paradox arrives because neither limited duration nor extended duration is a feature of the meaning of the progressive. Both are implicatures deriving from the interaction between the meaning of the progressive and other factors, which are different in the two cases."

(13) She is cleaning the kitchen.

(14) The train was arriving. (Huddleston 2002: 168)

About this feature, Huddleston (2002:165) states that "in emphasizing duration, the progressive metaphorically slows down or extends the situation in order to be able to focus on clarifying its nature." In subsection 3.2.1.3 I will focus on the way in which the progressive interacts with the aspectual properties of the predicate.

3.2.1.2 The modal value of the progressive

One important property of the progressive derives from the fact that it focuses on an internal stage/on internal stages of the situation which the predicate denotes. Dowty (1979) notices that the way in which the progressive affects the interpretation of predicates is paradoxical. When the progressive occurs with an atelic predicate, the entailment is that the situation has obtained (as in 15). But, when it occurs with a telic predicate, the entailment is that the situation has not obtained (as in 16).

(15) John is running. – entails: John has run.

(16) John is building a house. – does not entail: John has built a house.

In (16) the existence of a house is a *possible outcome* of John's activity. According to Dowty (1979), the progressive relates an incomplete event in the actual world to a complete version of that event in some *possible* world; this indicates that the meaning of the progressive has a modal component. A progressive sentence is associated with indeterminacy, uncertainty, tentativeness since the outcome of the situation which it denotes is "possible".

This explains, for example, why the progressive expresses politeness when employed with mental cognition statives: "the progressive is a more tentative, and hence more polite manner of expressing a mental attitude" (Leech 1971: 30).

(17) I'm hoping you'll give us some advice. (Leech 1971: 29)

3.2.1.3 The progressive viewpoint and situation types

States should not appear with the progressive viewpoint because, even though they are durative, they are stative and lack "linguistic features associated with dynamism" (Smith 1997: 47).

(18) *John is knowing the answer.

(19) *Ana is being an engineer.

However, according to Kearns (1991), there are classes of stative predicates which are compatible with the progressive, such as *agentive BE*, which refers to behaviour rather than to properties of the subject and which is a stage-level predicate; this allows for its combination with the progressive aspect.

(20) Martha is being nice.

Also, verbs denoting psychological activities, like *to love, to like, to enjoy, to hate* can be employed with the progressive, case in which they generate a temporary reading and highlight the uniqueness of the experience, while presenting the emotion as "consciously experienced" (Kearns 1991), as in (21) below. Also, states combined with the progressive indicate subjectivity or emotional involvement on the part of the speaker.

(21) I am really enjoying this Saturday.

With predicates like *to know* and *to believe*, which express a mental state rather than a mental activity, the progressive is generally prohibited (18), except for the cases where the focus

is on gradual change or when the sentence has a habitual stative reading (Kearns 1991), as in (22), an inchoative meaning, like in (23), or when the sentence refers to a *conscious experiential episode*, as illustrated in (24).

(22) John is knowing the answer more and more often. (Kearns 1991: 154)

(23) I'm having an idea. (Kearns 1991: 155)

(24) I'm thinking we should get out of here. (Kearns 1991: 155)

Verbs of hurting (*to hurt*) and stance predicates (*to stand, to lie, to sit*) can also co-occur with the progressive if they denote, in the former case, a dynamic reading, as in (25) and in the latter, a temporary one, like (26) below (Kearns 1991). Actually, all verbs of bodily perception can be used in the progressive, denoting an internal sensation, while the simple form used with the same classes of verbs refers to an external sensation (Leech 1971).

(25) My back is aching really bad.

(26) John was lying on his bed.

Accomplishments can be combined with the progressive in English; in this case, the progressive emphasizes internal stages of the event and, hence, it suspends the result (Smith 1997). Because an accomplishment is composed of an activity subevent and a resultative subevent, the progressive allows the speaker to infer the process, but not the result state (Dowty 1979).

(27) Peter was writing a letter.

(28) Ana is painting a portrait.

Achievements denote instantaneous situations. This is why they are generally incompatible with the progressive, which requires some limited duration:

(29) a. *He is noticing a mistake.
b. *Helen is finding her watch.
c. *They are losing the key.
d. *She is spotting a friend in the middle of the crowd. (Avram 2019)

But the class of achievements is not homogeneous. Prototypical achievements (also known as "purely lucky" achievements) are normally incompatible with the progressive (as shown in 29 above). But even these achievements can occur with the progressive if certain conditions are met, e.g. with a bare plural in object position or in subject position, the sentence can refer to iterative situations; it denotes a series of events of the same type:

(30) a. Helen has been finding **lice** in her hair for weeks now.
b. **Tourists** have been discovering this beautiful lake for ages.
c. Bill is constantly discovering **web pages** for lunatics. (Avram 2019)

Those achievements which denote changes of state with some preliminary stages can occur with the progressive. In this case, the sentence is not about the change of state itself, but about the preliminary stages of a possible change of state, it is about an "*approach* to the transition, rather than the transition itself" (Leech 1971: 24).

In case they involve a process, "the process is detachable from the event itself" (Smith 1979: 47). Hence, the progressive has the same effect as in the case of accomplishments, suspending the final point.

(31) Maria was winning the race.

Degree achievements (*to cool, to widen, to melt, to darken, to recover*, etc.) can be used in the progressive. In this case, the sentence denotes a temporary change of state:

(32) Dan is recovering from his illness.

Semelfactive predicates (*to knock, to cough, to sneeze*) receive an iterative meaning when combined with the progressive, as Smith (1997: 53) states: "the progressive viewpoint […] triggers an interpretative shift to a multiple-event Activity with a Semelfactive verb constellation".

(33) Barney was sneezing.

3.2.1.4 Classes of predicates which resist the progressive

Among the verb categories which cannot be combined with the progressive, Kearns (1991) mentions *copula BE* (as in 19), verbs which can be paraphrased with it, such as *to weigh* and *to cost* (like in 34) and the verb *to have* (as in 35); these verbs are individual-level predicates, denoting inherent properties.

(34) The dress costs/*is costing 12$.

(35) I have/*am having a cheap car.

In English a sentence such as (36) is grammatical, as it communicates a temporary situation.

(36) I'm having a really bad day.

Another class of predicates which resists the progressive is represented by "copulas which incorporate a preposition" (Kearns 1991: 140), named predicates of relation, which can be paraphrased through BE + a prepositional phrase or through a BE phrase:

(37) a. Bill resembles/is like his father.
b. The army numbers/is made up of 50000 troops.
c. The box contains my books and pens./My books and pens are in the box.

Also, as already mentioned, in order for psychological statives, including verbs of physical perception, such as *to hear, to see, to smell,* etc., to become episodic and compatible with the progressive, they have to be consciously experienced, like in examples (21)-(24).

3.2.1.4 Other contextual uses of the progressive

In certain contexts, the progressive adds emotional involvement to habitual situations. This comes into conflict with the simple form, illustrated in (38b), which is normally used to convey the habitual value. But sentence (38a) has a marked value as well, since such constructions are used by English speakers to express annoyance with the referred habit.

(38) a. Mike is/was always making fun of his sister.
b. Mike always makes/made fun of his sister.

The Spanish progressive periphrasis is preferred with an imperfective tense with adverbials such as *"always"*, *"all day"*, etc. in constructions that receive an *intensive* value (representing emotional involvement on the part of the speaker), because they present the repeated action as being continuous (Bosque & Demonte 1999), like in (39). This represents a similarity between the two languages, as the English progressive forms can be employed to express annoyance as well, as mentioned above.

(39)	¡Siempre	te	estás	quejando!
	always	you	be-Pres-2SG	complain-gerund

'You're always complaining' (Bosque & Demonte 1999)

The progressive can also occur in sentences which describe a habit in existence over a limited period of time, as in (40). In this case, the progressive conveys the temporariness value of the situation:

(40) Harry is now only drinking wine at parties until his liver gets better.

The progressive is also employed in sentences which locate the situation in the future, expressing a future personal arrangement/established plan, like in (41) below:

(41) Grace is leaving New York this Saturday.

As mentioned, here the English progressive sentence receives a prospective value, indicating a planned future

action. Importantly, the prospective/future value usually obtains in the presence of a future time adverbial, which shows that it is not the progressive which has a prospective value, but the whole sentence, i.e. the future value revives, compositionally, from the progressive predicate and the future time adverbial. The contribution of the progressive in this context is that it forces an uncertainty reading.

In this respect, again, English differs from Spanish. The correct equivalent of a sentence like the one in (41) in Spanish makes use of the future tense, not of the progressive periphrasis.[4]

There are situations where both the present simple and the present progressive can be used to describe a temporary situation which holds at a particular reference time, such as (42a) and (42b) below.

(42) a. Henry is polite when it is needed.
b. Henry is being polite this morning.

Here, in (42b), the emphasis is not on duration (limited duration comes from the aspectual contribution), but rather on the *involvement of the subject* (subjectivity comes from the modal value of the progressive) (Hatcher 1951).

Therefore, the basic value of the progressive in English and Spanish is that it locates the time of the event at/around the time of reference, i.e. it presents the internal stages of an

[4] The *aspectual values* of the present progressive in Spanish "have extended to include immediate future readings" (Cuza & Otero 2016: 465), as shown in (42), but not in Peninsular Spanish; a futurate interpretation is attested in the majority of Latin-American countries (Torres-Cacoullos 2000 in Cuza & Otero 2016).

event which is unfolding at reference time. Nonetheless, English only allows the progressive in this case, while in Spanish the "simple" form can also be employed.

Other similarities between the two languages include the iterative value – in both languages the presence of the progressive can trigger an iterative interpretation of the situation denoted by the predicate –, the temporary habitual value (habitual situations of limited duration) and emotional involvement. On the other hand, the futurate value found with the English progressive is not found in Peninsular Spanish.

3.2.2 The progressive viewpoint in Romanian

As the present study investigates the learning of the Spanish progressive by native speakers of Romanian, in this subsection I briefly address the issue of the progressive aspect in Romanian. According to the standard view, the Romanian aspectual system does not possess a periphrastic form to express the progressive viewpoint like Spanish and English; it resorts to lexical resources.

In Romanian, just like in Spanish, a "simple" form (the present tense simple, the past tense simple, etc.) is used to denote situations which are unfolding at a particular reference point or temporary habitual situations. But in Romanian this is the only possible form.

(43)	Alin	tocmai	își	face	tema.
	Alin	just	him-pers.pron	do-Pres-3SG	homework
	'Alin is doing his homework.'				

If transfer in L3 is determined by the properties of L1, L3 learners of Spanish whose L1 is Romanian should underuse the progressive in these contexts and preferentially choose the simple form.

3.2.3 Research questions

The present study addresses the following research questions:

i. Is the learning of the progressive in L3 Spanish influenced by L1 Romanian?

ii. Is the learning of the progressive in L3 Spanish influenced by L2 English?

The results will shed light on the explanatory adequacy of the various hypotheses with respect to L3 transfer: the absolute L1 transfer hypothesis, the L2 Status Factor, the Typological Primacy Model and the Cumulative Enhancement model.

3.2.4 Predictions for the progressive in L3 Spanish

3.2.4.1 Transfer from L1?

If Weinreich's (1974 in Sánchez-Muñoz 2004: 18) claim about the progressive aspect in L1 being a possible transfer source is valid for L2 Spanish in an L1 English setting, it could also be applied to L3 Spanish speakers whose L1 is Romanian and L2 is English, as in the case of the current study.

The prediction for this hypothesis is the underuse of the progressive (generally, but especially in the case of the ongoing value of the present study); also, they should not erroneously employ the progressive in futurate contexts.

3.2.4.2 Transfer from L2?

According to Roberts & Liszka (2013 in Domínguez et al. 2017: 451), "the fact that aspect is grammaticalized in the native language can in some way facilitate the acquisition of aspect marking in a second language even if the marking works in different ways". In an L3 scenario, both L1 and L2 could have a potential facilitating role. For the learners of L3 Spanish whose L1 is Romanian and L2 English, however, only aspect in L2 English could have this facilitating role, since their mother tongue lacks morphological markers for expressing the progressive aspect.

The predictions in this case are the use of the progressive with the ongoing value, but possibly in higher percentages than the Spanish native speakers (because English only allows the progressive here) and the incorrect use of the progressive in futurate contexts.

3.2.4.3 The Typological Primacy Model?

According to the Typological Primacy Model (Rothman 2010), Romanian native speakers should transfer the features associated to the progressive aspect from English, since it is typologically more similar to Spanish in this respect. This

would predict an overextension of the progressive to contexts where it would not normally be employed in Spanish, such as futurate contexts.

3.2.4.4 The Cumulative Enhancement Model?

Since the Cumulative Enhancement Model considers that transfer comes from both L1 and L2 and that it only obtains if it is beneficial to the learning of the property, it would predict the use of the progressive with the ongoing value (possibly in higher percentages than the Spanish native speakers) and non-acceptance of the progressive in futurate contexts.

3.2.4.5 Drawing the threads together

According to the absolute L1 transfer hypothesis, native speakers of Romanian should make less use of the Spanish progressive, since it is morphologically absent in Romanian.

If, on the other hand, when learning L3 Spanish they make more use of the progressive forms than a native speaker would (i.e. if they overuse it), then the language which represents the transfer source is English, in accordance with the L2 transfer hypothesis or the Typological Primacy Model, which make the same predictions in this case. Moreover, if they use the progressive even in contexts where it would be considered grammatically incorrect (futurate readings) or semantically awkward (combined with predicates which are incompatible with the progressive aspect), then they would also show overextension.

According to the Cumulative Enhancement Model, transfer would obtain with the ongoing and with the temporary habitual values from English and would ban the progressive in futurate contexts from Romanian; transfer from both L1 and L2 should facilitate the ban on the progressive in the habitual context. Knowledge of the progressive in English should facilitate the acquisition of the use of the Spanish progressive for situations which are unfolding at a specific RT as well as for temporary habitual situations. The lack of the progressive in sentences which locate the situation in the future in Romanian will facilitate the use of the simple present and block the incorrect use of the progressive in Spanish in this context.

The goal of the present study is to determine the possible source of transfer in the learning of the progressive in L3 Spanish by native speakers of Romanian who have English as their L2: will they overextend the Spanish progressive to futurate contexts through L2 transfer? Will they undermark the progressive form through L1 transfer? Will they (over)use the Spanish progressive in ongoing contexts, but not in futurate ones? In other words, the study aims to establish if the predictions of the L2 transfer hypothesis, of the Typological Primacy Model, of the Cumulative Enhancement model or/and of the absolute L1 transfer hypothesis are confirmed.

Another possibility is that L3 Spanish speakers show an influence from both languages, undermarking the progressive in certain cases and overmarking it in others, according to

different aspectual classes of the predicate involved or to the context in which it appears.

On the other hand, Romanians may neither undermark it, showing semantic acceptance of all types of predicates which allow it, regardless of their basic aspectual class, nor overgeneralize it (for example, to a futurate value, which is considered ungrammatical in standard peninsular Spanish, but which is completely acceptable in English, as it is not a prototypical property of the English progressive aspect). In this case, it is the Cumulative Enhancement Model (Flynn et al. 2004) which would be confirmed, since within this framework only facilitative transfer occurs (here, transfer solely of those properties of English and Romanian shared by Spanish).

3.3 Participants

The participants in this study were 22 students in the first and 11 students in the second year of study in the Spanish Department at the University of Bucharest. They were chosen because they all had knowledge of English (as their L2) and because their level of Spanish is homogeneous within low-intermediate and, respectively, upper-intermediate proficiency levels, allowing the researcher to determine the level where transfer might obtain. The respondents were required to fill in a language background questionnaire (see Appendix). A group of 10 native speakers from Spain were also tested as a control group. The details are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Participants

Group	Age range	Number	L2
Low-intermediate learners of L3 Spanish	18-21	11	English
Upper-intermediate learners of L3 Spanish	19-23	22	English
Native speakers of Spanish	20-24	10	N/A

3.6 Methodology

The present study used an acceptability judgment task which follows Gabriele et al. (2015), a paper which investigates the learning of the progressive in L2 Spanish by native speakers of English. The authors' main research questions aim at establishing whether there is full transfer from L1 to L2, i.e. whether "all of the associated interpretations of a given form from the native language" (Gabriele et al. 2015: 113) are transferred to L2, as the Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996) predicts, or whether transfer only occurs with the prototypical features of a certain structure, as the Prototype Hypothesis (Shirai & Andersen 1995) predicts.

To this end, in Gabriele et al.'s study (2015), 49 L2 Spanish learners with low proficiency who lived in the United States and 20 Costa Rican native speakers were tested. The task they used was an acceptability judgment task, where the participants were given a short context in Spanish followed by a question, such as *Qué hace Elena en este momento*? ('What is Elena doing right now?'), and they had to accept or reject each of the two possible answers they were provided with, one containing the present simple form and the other the present

progressive. An important detail to mention here is, nonetheless, the fact that participants only judged one given answer (containing either the present simple or the present progressive) at a time. Hence, the questionnaire observed the present simple/present progressive alternation in Spanish in order to determine the degree of transfer from L1.

The study targeted four values of the present tense: the ongoing and the habitual –considered 'core' values – and the temporary habitual and the futurate. From all these values, only the ongoing and the temporary habitual values characterize the present progressive in Castilian Spanish (and Costa Rican Spanish as well), in the sense that the progressive viewpoint can be employed in ongoing and temporary habitual contexts, if the speaker chooses to do so; the use of the progressive in these contexts is not compulsory, it is optional, but completely grammatical.

For the ongoing, the habitual and the temporary habitual conditions, all of the verbs used in the given answers were activity verbs and, in order to make sure that the informants were not influenced in any kind, the context sentences did not contain activity predicates inflected for the present simple, nor for the present progressive (in fact, the present progressive was not used at all). When the investigators used activity predicates, they appeared either in the infinitive form or in the present perfect form. The futurate condition refers to a fixed plan in the future and included verbs of coming and going and verbs describing participation in a planned event. To avoid any possible influence in the responses, the future tense was not used

in the context sentences. Moreover, even though the present simple form is not the preferred variant for future situations, it is a possible one, while the present progressive is not.

The test included a total of 24 context stories (six for each value of the progressive) and 12 fillers. For each context story, there were two sentences (one in the present simple, the other in the present progressive), meaning a total of 72 sentences that the informants had to judge as acceptable or unacceptable. The participants had to read each context twice, once to evaluate the acceptability of the present simple and the second time to evaluate the acceptability of the present progressive. To this end, the two identical contexts were placed in different blocks of the experiment, which had a total of 6 blocks. As for the fillers, they were designed to be rejected by the participants due to a factual incongruity between the context and the given answers and they all targeted the present simple so as to create a balance in the number of accepted and rejected items for the present simple.

The results of their study indicate that low proficiency L2 learners of Spanish have a target-like behaviour with the ongoing and the habitual contexts, in the sense that they accept the present progressive more often with the ongoing value and they associate the present simple more often with the habitual reading.

Nonetheless, they accept present progressive forms with a habitual value at a rate higher than that of native speakers. Regarding the temporary habitual readings, L2 Spanish learners accept the present progressive as expressing a

temporary habitual value more than an unrestricted habitual one, just like native speakers do. For the future value, however, L2 learners showed a lot more acceptance for the present progressive than for the present simple, in contrast with native Spanish speakers.

Moreover, those learners who did not accept the present progressive with habitual contexts and who, consequently, "showed knowledge of the core meanings of the present indicative and present progressive", according to Gabriele et al. (2015: 135), prefer the present progressive in ongoing contexts, which could be evidence for L1 transfer. Also, the fact that they largely reject habitual readings, but largely accept futurate ones with the present progressive, suggests full L1 transfer rather than the exclusive transfer of prototypical values. Nevertheless, a further study comparing this group with a group whose L1 allows neither habitual nor futurate interpretations of the progressive would shed light on the conclusion of their study.

With the objective of carrying out a replica study of Gabriele et al. (2015), extended to L3 transfer, the present study observed the structure of their task in close detail, using the same conditions (for each of the four contexts mentioned above), the same verbs and, on the whole, following the same pattern so as to be able to compare the results of a nearly identical study. However, a lower number of test sentences per condition was employed (eight items – four items with the present progressive and four items with the present simple – for each of the four conditions and 16 fillers), because I wanted

to avoid receiving random answers out of boredom. Also, following Gabriele et al.'s model, there were actually four context sentences for each condition, which appeared twice in the task; hence, in order for the respondents not to be influenced in any way, the two identical contexts were randomly located on the answer sheet. The entire task (in Spanish) can be found in the Appendix.

Some of the test items are taken from Gabriele et al.'s study (2015: 120-123); however, all of the verbs employed in the task were taken from their paper.

(1) Condition 1. Ongoing

Elena es estudiante de matemáticas. Nunca ha escrito un poema en su vida, pero este semestre está en una clase de literatura. Para mañana tiene que escribir un poema de 15 versos sobre el amor. Ahora mismo está con el verso número 10. ¡Esto es horrible!

('Elena is a math student. She has never written a poem before in her life but this semester she is in a literature class. By tomorrow she has to write a 15 verse poem about love. Right now she is on verse 10. This is horrible!')

¿Qué hace Elena en este momento? ('What is Elena doing right now?')
Elena escribe poesía. ('Elena writes poetry.') Accept
Elena está escribiendo poesía. ('Elena is writing poetry.') Accept

The context clearly states that the event is happening at speech time, so as to avoid any possible misunderstandings or confusions with a habitual reading. Spanish allows both the present progressive and the present simple sentences as grammatical answers in this context.

If the progressive in L3 Spanish is affected by L1 transfer, one would expect a high acceptance rate of the simple present tense sentences and a low (or lower) acceptance rate of the progressive. In Romanian, the simple present tense form can be used for general situations (the general imperfective value) as well as for situations which are located at/around RT (the progressive, i.e. it also includes the ongoing value of the Spanish progressive). Therefore, the simple present is the superset in relation to the Spanish progressive. It has been argued that in such situations, L2 learners find it difficult to move from the superset to the subset unless they receive negative feedback and explicit instruction. This may lead to overacceptance of the simple present tense in ongoing contexts and low acceptance rate of the progressive. But if the progressive in L3 Spanish is affected by L2 transfer, one can predict a relatively high rate acceptance for the progressive and a low rate for the simple present tense.

(2) Condition 2. Habitual

Gloria es escritora. Su trabajo consiste en escribir poesía para niños de lunes a viernes. Hoy es domingo, así que está en el cine con unas amigas.

('Gloria is a writer. Her job consists of writing poetry for children from Monday to Friday. Today is Sunday, so she is at the movies with some friends.')

¿Qué hace Gloria normalmente? (What does Gloria usually do?)
Gloria escribe poesía. ('Gloria writes poetry.') Accept
Gloria está escribiendo poesía. ('Gloria is writing poetry.') Reject

For this condition, the habitual reading is the only available one for the reader since the interpretation of the context sentence is reinforced by the adverb used in the question, *normalmente* 'normally'. Here, the present simple should be the only accepted variant, since the present progressive is not used with this value (only with the temporary habitual one mentioned below).

Both L1 and L2 transfer should have the same effect: the L3 learners of Spanish should reject the progressive in this context.

(3) Condition 3. Temporary Habitual

Javier es periodista. Normalmente, su trabajo consiste en escribir los horóscopos, pero esta semana tiene que escribir poesía para la sección cultural del periódico. Esta semana Javier ha escrito muchos poemas cada día, pero los dos poemas que escribió ayer son horribles.

('Javier is a journalist. Usually, his job consists of writing horoscopes, but this week he has to write poetry for the cultural section of the newspaper. This week, Javier has written many poems every day, but the two poems he wrote yesterday were horrible.')

¿Qué hace Javier esta semana? (What is Javier doing this week?)
Javier escribe poesía. ('Javier writes poetry.') Accept
Javier está escribiendo poesía. ('Javier is writing poetry.') Accept

This type of context is different from the previous one because, even though they both express activities that represent habits, this one is temporary bound to a given time frame; hence, the temporariness and the element of unexpectedness of the activity described also allow the use of

the present progressive (in addition to the use of the present simple, which is generally employed in habitual contexts).

The verbs used in the task for these three values are, as aforementioned, the same as in Gabriele et al.'s (2015: 119), which all describe activities: *escribir poesía* ('write poetry'), *jugar al baloncesto* ('play basketball'), *tocar el piano* ('play the piano') y *hacer pasteles* ('make cakes').

L1 transfer in this context predicts a low acceptance rate for the progressive and a high acceptance rate for the simple present tense form, just like in Condition 1. L2 transfer predicts a higher acceptance rate for the progressive form.

(4) Condition 4. Futurate

Lucía ha decidido ir a Chicago a ver a su amigo Emilio. Nunca ha estado en Chicago, así que está muy emocionada con el viaje. Ha comprado un billete de autobús para el sábado a las 2pm.

('Lucía has decided to go to Chicago to see her friend Emile. She has never been to Chicago so she is very excited about the trip. She has bought a bus ticket for Saturday at 2PM.')

¿Qué planes tiene Lucía para el próximo sábado a las 2pm? (What plans does Lucía have for next Saturday at 2PM?)

Lucía sale para Chicago. (Lucía leaves for Chicago.) Accept
Lucía está saliendo para Chicago. (Lucía is leaving for Chicago.) Reject

In this case, the context evidently describes an activity planned for a specific future time; hence, only the present simple should be accepted here, since it can encode this value, while the present progressive cannot (at least not in Standard Peninsular Spanish).

The verbs used for the futurate value (also taken from Gabriel et al.'s study (2015: 123), since this is a replica study) are, as already mentioned, verbs of coming and going (*volver* 'return', *venir* 'come', *regresar* 'return', *salir* 'leave'), i.e. achievements.

L1 transfer should be reflected in a high acceptance rate for the simple present tense form and a high rejection rate for the progressive. L2 transfer would result in a high acceptance rate for the progressive without, however, excluding the acceptance of the simple present tense.

In (5) below there is an example of a filler item, which, as indicated before, tests the present indicative and is unacceptable because of logical reasons, like all other fillers.

(5) Filler

Antonio es profesor de español en la universidad. Es un profesor muy estricto, pero siempre tiene muchos estudiantes, pues Antonio tiene reputación de ser un profesor excepcional. Sus alumnos hablan muy bien español.

(Antonio is a Spanish professor at the university. He is a very strict professor but he always has many students because he has a reputation for being an exceptional professor. His students speak Spanish very well.)

¿Qué sabemos de Antonio? (What do we know about Antonio?)
Antonio es químico. (Antonio is a chemist.) Reject
Antonio es mal profesor. (Antonio is a bad professor.) Reject

The main predictions are summarized in Table 3, where I highlighted those conditions which can provide clearer answers with respect to the source of L1/L2 transfer. The participants'

responses to the test sentences in Condition 2 cannot straightforwardly distinguish between L1 and L2 transfer.

Table 3. L1 and L2 transfer:
Predictions for the progressive in L3 Spanish

Condition	L1 transfer: predictions	L2 transfer: predictions
Condition 1: ongoing	reject the progressive/lower acceptance rate for the progressive high acceptance rate for the simple present tense	high acceptance rate for the progressive reject the simple present tense
Condition 2: habitual	reject the progressive/lower acceptance rate for the progressive high acceptance rate for the simple present tense	reject the progressive/lower acceptance rate for the progressive high acceptance rate for the simple present tense
Condition 3: temporary habitual	reject the progressive/lower acceptance rate for the progressive high acceptance rate for the simple present tense	high acceptance rate for the progressive reject the simple present tense/lower acceptance rate for the simple form
Condition 4: futurate	reject the progressive/lower acceptance rate for the progressive high acceptance rate for the simple present tense	high acceptance rate for the progressive reject the simple present tense /lower acceptance of the simple present tense

3.7 Results

The results for the control group are summarized in Figure 1 and Figure 2, respectively.

I obtained a number of 80 responses from the 10 participants for each of the four conditions because there were eight test items used in the task in each condition. However, in order to determine, for each context, whether each participant accepted only the progressive or only the present simple and whether they accepted or rejected both the progressive and the present simple – and since there are actually only four contexts per condition –, the total figure that the responses were referred to when carrying out the analysis of the data was 40 (in Figure 1). For Figure 2, the results were analysed taking into account the total number of participants, which is 10 in the case of native speakers.

In **Condition 1** (ongoing), there were 6 (= 14%) "only the progressive" responses, 3 (= 8%) "only the present simple" responses and in 28 cases (= 70%) the native speakers accepted both the progressive and the present simple across the four "ongoing" contexts. A total of 6 (= 16%) responses rejected the progressive, while 9 (= 22%) responses rejected the simple present tense, which means that, overall, 34 (= 84%) responses accepted the progressive and 31 (= 78%) accepted the present simple.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the control group did not accept the progressive (M = 3.1) more often than the simple present (M= 3.4) in *the ongoing condition*: t(9) = -1.15, p = .3 (two-tailed). The comparison of the "present only" and "progressive only" responses revealed no significant difference: $p > 0.05$. Native speakers accepted the simple present and the present

progressive for ongoing situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other.

In **Condition 3** (temporary habitual), 8 responses (= 20%) were of "only the progressive" type, 1 (= 3%) of the "only the present simple" type and 30 (= 74%) accepted both the progressive and the present simple across the four "temporary habitual" contexts. A total of 2 (= 6%) responses rejected the progressive and 9 (= 23%) responses rejected the present simple, which means that, overall, 38 (= 94%) responses accepted the progressive and 31 (= 77%) accepted the present simple.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the control group did not accept the progressive (M = 3.8) more often than the simple present (M= 3.1) in *the temporary habitual condition*: $t(9) = -1.25$, $p = 0.2$ (two-tailed). The comparison of the present only and progressive only responses revealed no significant difference: $p > 0.05$. The control group of native speakers of Spanish accepted the simple present and the present progressive for temporary habitual situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other.

In **Condition 2** (habitual), 21 (= 52%) incorrectly accepted the progressive, 40 (= 100%) correctly accepted the present simple and 21 (= 52%) accepted both the progressive and the present tense simple across the four "habitual" contexts. 19 (= 48%) responses rejected the progressive and no response (= 0%) rejected the simple present tense. The fact that the native speakers accepted the progressive in this condition is surprising. However, they showed a clear preference for the present tense simple in this context.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the control group preferentially accepted the simple present (M= 4) more often than the progressive (M= 2.1) in *the habitual condition*: $t(9) = 4.38$, $p = 0.001$ (two-tailed). The comparison of the "present only" and "progressive only" responses revealed that native speakers gave exclusively "present only" responses (no "progressive only" response was given). Native speakers accept the simple present significantly more often than the present progressive for habitual situations.

In **Condition 4** (futurate), 19 (= 48%) responses incorrectly accepted the progressive, 40 (= 100%) correctly accepted the present tense simple and 19 (= 48%) accepted both the progressive and the present tense simple across the four "futurate" contexts. 21 (= 52%) responses rejected the progressive and no response (= 0%) rejected the simple present tense.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the control group preferentially accepted the simple present (M= 4) more often than the progressive (M =1.9) in *the futurate condition*: $t(9) = 3.28$, $p = 0.009$ (two-tailed). The comparison of the present only and progressive only responses revealed that native speakers gave exclusively "present only" responses (no progressive only response was given) and the "reject" responses targeted exclusively the progressive. Native speakers accept the simple present significantly more often than the present progressive for future situations.

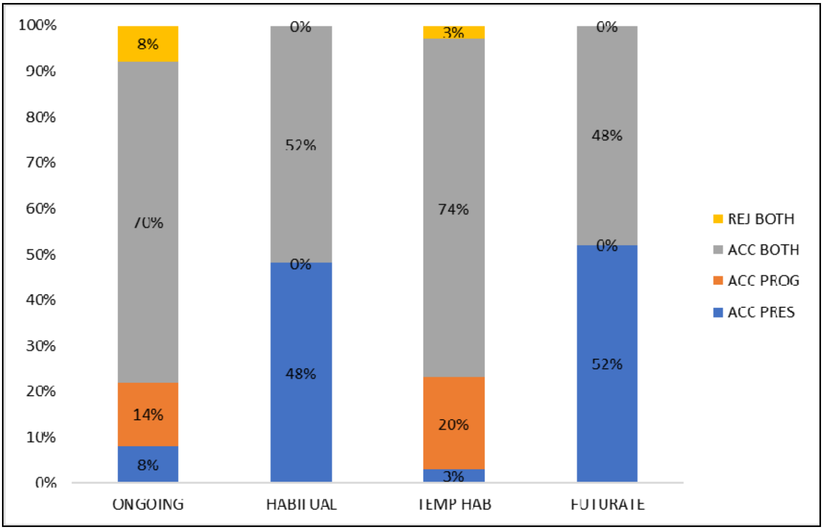


Figure 2. The control group: Acceptance rate of the present simple and the present progressive

Figure 2 allows us to take a closer look at the acceptance rate of native speakers of Spanish, which represent the control group, leading to some interesting findings. For the present simple, the results are in complete accordance with its associated values compared to the present progressive ones, in the sense that the habitual and the futurate readings – which are, theoretically, only available for the present simple – show a full acceptance rate, while the ongoing and the temporary habitual readings – which are also shared by the present progressive – both have a 78% mean acceptance rate.

For the present progressive, the results are partially in accordance with the expectations, since the ongoing and the temporary habitual values have very high acceptance rates

(85% and 95%, respectively) and the habitual and futurate ones have a 52% and 50% rate, respectively.

In order to test for the effect of condition on the acceptability of the progressive a one-way ANOVA (repeated measures) was conducted (alpha-level = .05). The number of YES responses differed significantly across conditions: $F(3,36) = 5.52$, $p = 0.003$. Multiple post-hoc t-tests with Bonferroni correction (significance is reported at 0.012 level) were run in order to identify the differences. They revealed that the difference was significant between the progressive in the *ongoing condition* ($M = 3.4$) and in the *habitual condition* ($M = 2.1$) : $t(9)= 3.07$, $p = 0.01$., i.e. native speakers accepted the progressive more often in the ongoing condition than in the habitual condition, as expected. The difference between the use of the progressive in the *habitual condition* ($M = 2.1$) and in the *temporary habitual condition* ($M = 3.8$) was also significant: $t(9) = -3.43$, $p = 0.003$. The native speakers of Spanish preferentially accepted the progressive in *the ongoing* and the *temporary habitual* contexts. Surprisingly, there was no significant difference between the progressive in the temporary habitual condition and in the futurate condition: $p = 0.02$.

In order to test for the effect of condition on the acceptability of the present simple a one-way ANOVA (repeated measures) was conducted (alpha-level = .05). The number of YES responses did not differ significantly across conditions: $F(3,36) =2.71$, $p = .06$, i.e. the control group of native speakers accepted the present simple across conditions with no significant difference.

One result which does not completely follow the predictions is the 52% and 50% acceptance rates for the habitual and futurate readings, respectively, which could be considered unexpected if we take into account the fact that these values are, at least in theory, never associated with the progressive. But the results also show that the native speakers have a clear preference for the simple present tense form in these two contexts.

Therefore, comparing the four categories among them in the case of native speakers, we notice that the ongoing and the temporary habitual values (which are associated with both the present simple and the present progressive) are associated with both the simple present and the progressive. The raw data indicate a slight preference for the progressive.

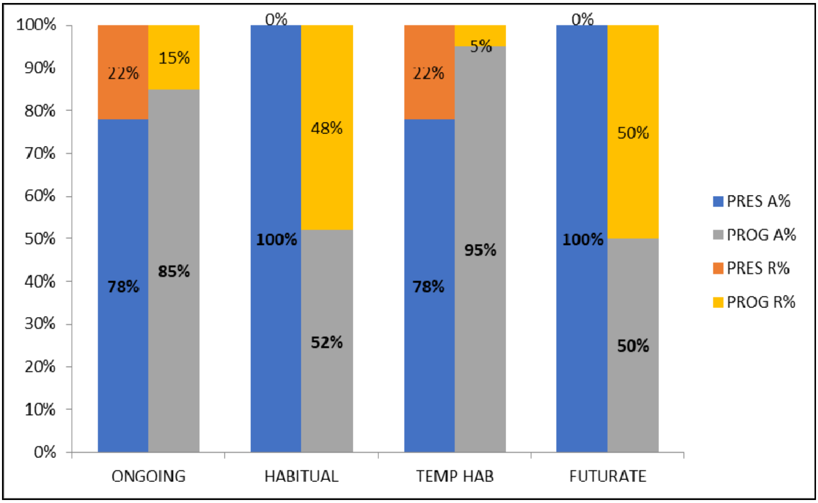


Figure 3. The control group: Acceptance rate of the present simple and the present progressive

The results for the low-intermediate group are summarized in Figure 3 and Figure 4, respectively.

I obtained a number of 176 responses from the 22 participants for each of the four conditions because there were eight test items used in the task. However, in order to determine, for each context, whether each participant accepted only the progressive (or the present simple) and whether they accepted or rejected both the progressive and the present simple – and since there are actually only four contexts per condition –, the total figure that the responses were referred to when carrying out the analysis of the data was 88 (in Figure 3). For Figure 4, the results were analysed taking into account the total number of participants, which is 22 in the case of low-intermediate learners.

In **Condition 1** (ongoing), 11 (= 13%) accepted only the progressive, 12 (= 14%) accepted only the present simple and 48 (= 55%) accepted both the progressive and the present simple across the four "ongoing" contexts. A total of 29 (= 33%) responses rejected the progressive, while a very similar number, 28 (= 32%) responses, rejected the simple present tense, which means that, overall, 59 (= 67%) responses accepted the progressive and 60 (= 68%) accepted the present simple.

The low-intermediate group had nearly the same acceptance rate as the control group for the progressive form alone, but only 55% of the responses accepted both the present simple and the progressive compared to 70% of the native speakers. Also, there is a much higher rejection rate of the progressive in the low-intermediate participants (33%

compared to 16%) and a higher rejection rate of the present simple (32% compared to 22%).

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the low-intermediate group of L3 Spanish learners did not accept the progressive (M = 2.68) more often than the simple present (M= 2.72) in *the ongoing condition*: t(21) = 0.23, p = 0.8 (two-tailed). The comparison of the "present only" and "progressive only" responses revealed no significant difference: $p > 0.05$**.** At first sight, the general results are similar to those in the control group. The low-intermediate learners accepted the simple present and the present progressive for ongoing situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other. However, as mentioned above, one notices that this group's acceptance means for both the present and the progressive are lower than those of the control group and that the rejection rate is higher with the low-intermediate learners.

In **Condition 3** (temporary habitual), 9 (= 10%) accepted only the progressive, 13 (= 15%) accepted only the present simple and 54 (= 61%) accepted both the progressive and the present simple across the four "temporary habitual" contexts. A total of 25 (= 29%) responses rejected the progressive and 21 (= 24%) responses rejected the present simple, which means that, overall, 63 (= 71%) responses accepted the progressive and 67 (= 76%) accepted the present simple.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the lower-intermediate group did not accept the progressive (M = 2.86) more often than the simple present (M=

3.04) in *the temporary habitual condition*: $t(21) = 0.75$, $p = 0.5$ (two-tailed). The comparison of the present only and progressive only responses revealed no significant difference either: $p > 0.05$. This group accepted the simple present and the present progressive for temporary habitual situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other. At first sight, the results seem similar to those obtained by the control group. However, overall, 74% of the responses of native speakers accepted both tenses compared to 61% of the responses of low-intermediate participants. Also, while the rejection rate of the present simple is almost the same, the rejection rate of the progressive is higher in the case of the low-intermediate group (29% compared to 6% for the control group).

In **Condition 2** (habitual), 72 responses (= 82%) incorrectly accepted the progressive, 67 (= 76%) correctly accepted the present simple and 59 (= 67%) accepted both the progressive and the present tense simple across the four "habitual" contexts. 16 (= 18%) responses rejected the progressive and 21 (= 24%) responses rejected the simple present tense.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the lower-intermediate group did not accept the progressive (M = 3.27) more often than the simple present (M= 3.04)in *the habitual condition*: $t(21) = -0.79$, $p = 0.43$ (two-tailed). The comparison of the "present only" and "progressive only" responses revealed no significant difference either: $p > 0.05$**.** This group accepted the simple present and the present progressive for habitual situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other.

For the habitual value condition, the results show a much higher incorrect acceptance rate of the progressive for the low-intermediate group compared to the native speakers (82% compared to 52%); the rejection rate is also much lower for the progressive in the case of low-intermediate learners. For the present simple tense, where the control group shows a 0% rejection rate (and a 100% acceptance rate), the low-intermediate group has a 24% rejection rate (and a 76% acceptance rate).

In **Condition 4** (futurate), 61 (= 69%) incorrectly accepted the progressive, 68 (= 77%) correctly accepted the present tense simple and 52 (= 59%) accepted both the progressive and the present tense simple across the four "futurate" contexts. 27 (= 31%) responses rejected the progressive and 20 (= 23%) rejected the simple present tense.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the lower-intermediate group did not accept the progressive (M = 2.77) more often than the simple present (M= 3.09) in *the futurate condition*: $t(21) = 1.50$, $p = 0.15$ (two-tailed). The comparison of the present only and progressive only responses revealed no significant difference either: $p > 0.05$. This group accepted the simple present and the present progressive for future situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other.

For the futurate reading, 69% of the responses of low-intermediate learners erroneously accepted the progressive, while only 48% of the responses of native speakers accepted it.

Also, for the present simple, there is a 23% rejection rate for the low-intermediate group compared to 0% for the control group.

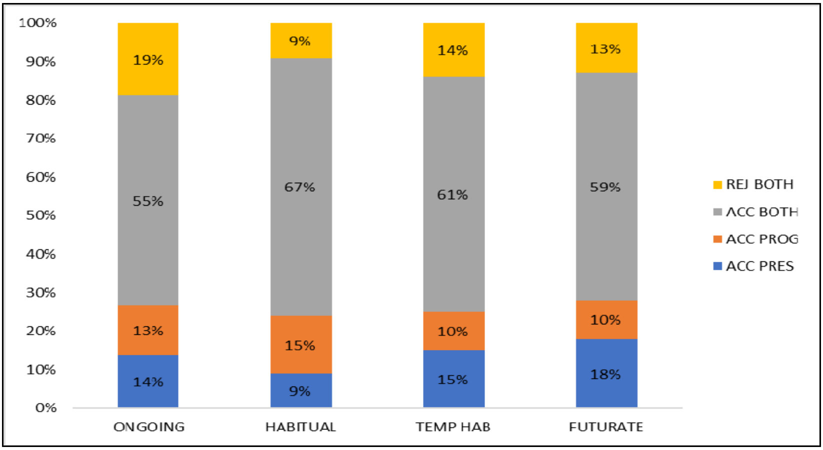


Figure 4. The low-intermediate group: Acceptance rate of the present simple and the present progressive

Figure 4 shows that with the low-intermediate learners the acceptance rate for the present simple is overall similar to the one for the present progressive. For the ongoing and the temporary habitual contexts, it is nearly identical. For the progressive, there is an acceptance rate of 67% for the ongoing reading and a 73% for the temporary habitual value. Compared to the control group, which show an 85% acceptance rate for the progressive in the ongoing condition and a 95% for the temporary habitual, the results are somewhat far from the target. In the habitual value condition, the results show an 82% incorrect acceptance rate of the progressive (compared to a 76% acceptance rate of the present simple), which is unexpected because this value of

the progressive is considered incorrect in Standard Spanish. Also, the native speakers have a 52% incorrect acceptance rate, much lower than the low-intermediate speakers. In the futurate value condition (in which the progressive is incorrect in peninsular Spanish), there is a very high acceptance rate of the progressive form (72% compared to 50% for the control group), although not higher than the one for the simple form (80%). Hence, for the present simple, among all categories, the lowest acceptance rate (68%) is in the ongoing value condition.

In order to test for the effect of condition on the acceptability of the progressive a one-way ANOVA (repeated measures) was conducted (alpha-level = .05). The number of YES responses did not differ significantly across conditions: $F(3,84) = 1.15$, $p = 0.33$.

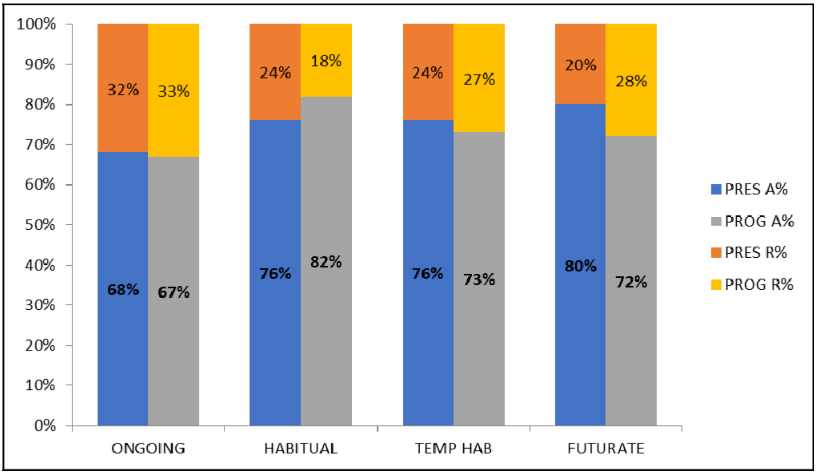


Figure 5. The low-intermediate group: Acceptance rate of the present simple and the present progressive

In order to test for the effect of condition on the acceptability of the present simple a one-way ANOVA (repeated measures) was conducted (alpha-level = .05). The number of YES responses did not differ significantly across conditions in this case either: $F(3,84) = 0.54$, $p = .65$, i.e. the group of low intermediate learners accepted the present simple across conditions with no significant difference.

These results indicate developmental optionality at a stage when the low-intermediates have not learned the use of the progressive in Spanish yet. They randomly choose the present or the progressive across contexts. At the same time, the raw data also showed a rejection rate for the progressive in Conditions 1 and 3 higher than the one found with the control group. This might tentatively indicate a possible weak transfer from L1.

The results for the upper-intermediate group are summarized in Figure 5 and Figure 6, respectively.

I obtained a number of 88 responses from the 11 participants for each of the four conditions because there were eight test items used in the task. However, in order to determine, for each context, whether each participant accepted only the progressive (or the present simple) and whether they accepted or rejected both the progressive and the present simple – and since there are actually only four contexts per condition –, the total figure that the responses were referred to when carrying out the analysis of the data was 44 (in Figure 5). For Figure 6, the results were analysed taking into account the total number of responses.

In **Condition 1** (ongoing), 2 responses out of 44 (= 4.5%) accepted only the progressive, 8 (= 18.2%) accepted only the present simple and 29 (= 66%) accepted both the progressive and the present simple across the four "ongoing" contexts. A total of 13 (= 29%) responses rejected the progressive and 7 (= 16%) responses rejected the simple present tense, which means that, overall, 31 (= 71%) responses accepted the progressive and 37 (= 84%) accepted the present simple.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the upper-intermediate group did not accept the progressive (M = 2.81) more often than the simple present (M= 3.36) in *the ongoing condition*: $t(10) = 1.75$, $p = 0.11$ (two-tailed). The comparison of the present only and progressive only responses revealed no significant difference either: $p > 0.05$. This group accepted the simple present and the present progressive for habitual situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other. In this respect, the upper intermediates seemed to behave like the group of native speakers. However, a look at the raw data reveals that these L3 learners rejected the progressive more often than the simple present, possibly a residual of the weak L1 transfer effect noticed for an earlier stage.

In **Condition 3** (temporary habitual), 10 responses (= 23%) accepted only the progressive, 2 (= 5%) accepted only the present simple and 30 (= 68%) accepted both the progressive and the present simple across the four "temporary habitual" contexts. A total of 4 (= 9%) responses rejected the progressive and 12 (= 27%) responses rejected the present simple, which

means that, overall, 40 (= 91%) responses accepted the progressive and 35 (= 73%) accepted the present simple.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the upper-intermediate group accepted the progressive (M = 3.63) more often than the simple present (M= 2.91) in *the temporary habitual condition*: t(10) = -2.67, p = 0.02 (two-tailed). The comparison of the "present only" and "progressive only" responses further revealed a preference for the progressive: $p < .05$**.** The upper intermediate group showed a preference for the present progressive for temporary habitual situations. In this respect, the upper intermediates differed from the group of native speakers, whose results revealed a surprisingly non-significant difference between the present and the progressive in this condition.

In **Condition 2** (habitual), 41 responses out of 44 (= 93%) incorrectly accepted the progressive, 39 (= 89%) correctly accepted the present simple and 37 (= 84%) accepted both the progressive and the present tense simple across the four "habitual" contexts. 3 (= 7%) responses rejected the progressive and 5 (= 11%) responses rejected the simple present tense.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the upper-intermediate group did not accept the progressive (M = 3.72) more often than the simple present (M= 3.54) in *the habitual condition*: t(10) = -1, p = 0.34 (two-tailed). The comparison of the present only and progressive only responses revealed no significant difference either: $p > 0.05$. This group accepted the simple present and the present progressive for habitual situations, with no significant preference for one form

or the other. In this respect, the upper intermediates behaved differently from the group of native speakers, who showed a significant preference for the present simple in this condition. A look at the raw data reveals that the L3 learners rejected the progressive more often than the simple present.

In **Condition 4** (futurate), 43 responses (= 98%) incorrectly accepted the progressive, 41 (= 93%) correctly accepted the present tense simple and 40 (= 91%) accepted both the progressive and the present tense simple across the four "futurate" contexts. 1 (= 2%) response rejected the progressive and 3 (= 7%) responses rejected the simple present tense.

A standard two-sample t-test at the alpha = .05 level showed that the upper-intermediate group did not accept the progressive (M = 3.91) more often than the simple present (M= 3.73) in *the futurate condition*: t(10) = -1.49, p = 0.17 (two-tailed). The comparison of the present only and progressive only responses revealed no significant difference either: $p > 0.05$. This group accepted both the simple present and the present progressive for future situations, with no significant preference for one form or the other. In this respect, the upper intermediates behaved differently from the group of native speakers, who showed a significant preference for the present simple in this condition.

In comparison to the native speakers, almost all responses of the upper-intermediate learners for the futurate value accepted the progressive erroneously, while only 48% of the responses of the control group did so. For the present simple tense, nonetheless, the correct acceptance rate is close to the target acceptance rate (100%).

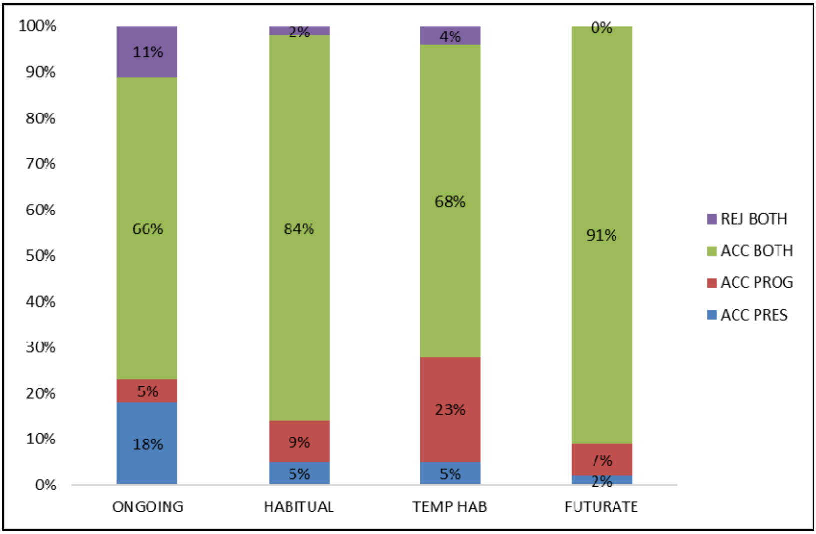


Figure 6. The upper-intermediate group: Acceptance rate of the present simple and the present progressive

Figure 6 indicates considerable differences in the acceptance rates for the present simple and for the present progressive, respectively, for the upper-intermediate learners. The largest gap in the acceptance rate between the two verbal forms can be observed in the temporary habitual reading, where the present simple has 73%, while the present progressive 91%. This could be justified by the fact that the temporary habitual value is one of the values characterizing the present progressive. Nonetheless, the habitual and the futurate values also show higher percentages for the present progressive (93% compared to 89% and 98% compared to 93%, respectively), which is unexpected since these two values are only available for the present simple in Standard Spanish.

In order to test for the effect of condition on the acceptability of the progressive a one-way ANOVA (repeated measures) was conducted (alpha-level = .05). The number of YES responses differed significantly across conditions: $F(3,40) = 5.33$, $p = 0.003$. Multiple post-hoc t-tests with Bonferroni correction (significance is reported at 0.01 level) were run in order to identify the differences. They revealed that the only difference which reached significance is the one between the progressive in the *ongoing condition* ($M = 2.81$) and in the *futurate condition* ($M = 3.91$): $t(10)= -3.18$, $p = 0.009$., i.e. the upper intermediates accepted the progressive less often in the ongoing condition (where it is allowed) than in the futurate condition (where it is ungrammatical).

Hence, upper-intermediate participants do not prefer the present progressive to the present simple in ongoing interpretations. Surprisingly enough, the progressive shows the lowest acceptance rate for the ongoing value (71%), which is the basic value of the progressive form, and the highest for the futurate value (98%), which is not a value of the progressive in Peninsular Spanish. The habitual and the temporary habitual readings show nearly the same acceptance rate (93% and 91%, respectively), even though only the latter is a value characterising both the present simple and the present progressive.

In this condition, the upper intermediate learners differed from the native speakers of Spanish who preferentially accepted the progressive in *the ongoing* context and the simple present in the *futurate* context.

The highest acceptance rate for the present simple form can be observed within the futurate category (93%), followed by the habitual (89%), the ongoing (84%) and ending with the temporary habitual (73%). At first sight, this order (seen in the raw data) respects the distinction between values exclusively associated with the present simple and values shared by both the present simple and the present progressive. In order to test for the effect of condition on the acceptability of the present simple a one-way ANOVA (repeated measures) was conducted (alpha-level = .05). The number of YES responses did not differ significantly across conditions: $F(3,40) = 2.23$, $p = .099$, i.e. the group of L3 learners accepted the present simple across conditions with no significant difference.

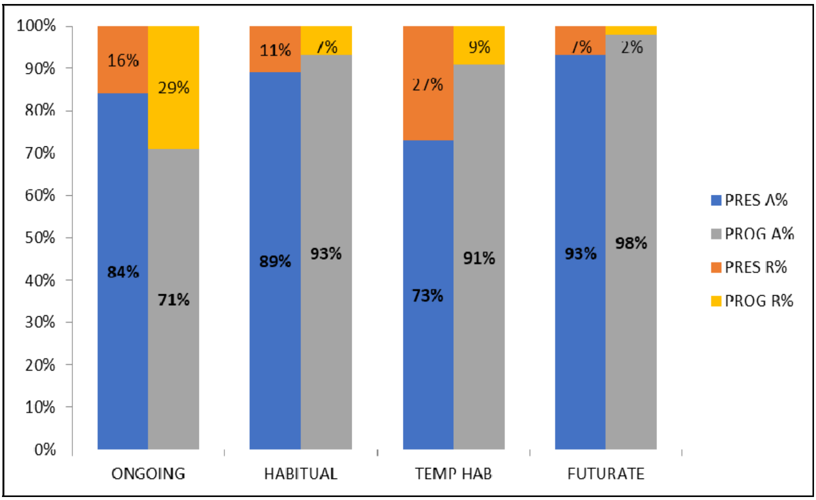


Figure 7. The upper-intermediate group: Acceptance rate of the present simple and the present progressive

3.8 Discussion

In this section the results presented in the previous sub-chapter will be discussed in relation with the predictions of the present study.

On the whole, the responses of the low-intermediate participants (extracted from the raw data) showed an acceptance of the progressive of 67% for the ongoing value and a 71% for the temporary habitual, i.e. for the two values characterising the Spanish progressive. The results are similar to the control group but, nonetheless, lower. The statistical analysis revealed no significant difference between the present progressive and the present simple, meaning that low-intermediate participants do not prefer one form or the other for the ongoing value and the temporary habitual value, respectively. For the habitual condition, the responses (extracted from the raw data) showed an incorrect acceptance rate for the progressive of 82% and for the futurate value, an incorrect acceptance rate of 69%. The statistical analysis also revealed no significant difference between the present progressive and the present simple, meaning that low-intermediate learners show no preference for any of these two verbal forms in habitual and futurate contexts.

In the futurate condition, a high acceptance rate for the progressive was predicted in the case of L2 transfer from English, as a manifestation of the overgeneralisation of the present progressive to that context where it is considered grammatically incorrect (the futurate context). Nevertheless,

both L1 and L2 transfer predicted rejection of the progressive for the habitual context. Hence, considering the high acceptance rate for the progressive in both the habitual and the futurate conditions, I suggest that this is an instantiation of developmental optionality, i.e. the responses of the low-intermediate learners are random at this stage. Another argument in favour of this is related to the aspectual classes, where there is an acceptance rate of 74% of activity predicates employed in the progressive form (in the ongoing, habitual and temporary habitual conditions) and a very similar average acceptance rate of 72% for achievements used with the progressive (in the futurate condition). A tentative speculation in the case of low-intermediate participants, starting from the raw data which show a higher rejection rate for the progressive in the ongoing and the temporary habitual conditions than that of native speakers, is that, if there is any transfer, it is from L1; this would validate the hypothesis predicting absolute L1 transfer during the early stages.

For the upper-intermediate participants there is a higher acceptance rate both for the two values associated with the progressive (71% for the ongoing and 91% for the temporary habitual conditions), and for the two values not characterising the progressive (93% for the habitual and 98% for the futurate conditions). The statistical analysis revealed no significant difference between the present progressive and the present simple across conditions, except in the case of the temporary habitual condition, where there is a preference for the progressive. Taking into consideration the use of the progressive across conditions, the only difference which

reached significance is in the futurate condition, where the upper-intermediate learners accepted the progressive more often (even though it is not grammatical) than the ongoing condition (in which case it is allowed).

This proves that upper-intermediate participants have started to realise that temporary habitual contexts allow the use of the progressive; however, they extend it ungrammatically to futurate contexts. This could be showing L2 transfer from English, since English allows the futurate reading with the present progressive. For the habitual context, however, neither L1 transfer nor L2 transfer predict such a high acceptance rate. Therefore, this behaviour together with the existence of a high acceptance rate for the progressive in the futurate condition show that upper-intermediate L3 speakers of Spanish (in an L1 Romanian L2 English context) have a tendency to overextend the use of the present progressive, under the influence of English, validating the Typological Primacy Model (since English is typologically more similar to Spanish when it comes to the progressive viewpoint) and the L2 transfer hypothesis (since English is their L2).

The use of the progressive in the context in which it is normally unaccepted (futurate) is a proof of overextension of the progressive. This represents a validation of the Typological Primacy Model, confirming L2 transfer in more proficient users of the language. The aspectual classes convey an acceptance rate of 85% for activities and an impressive 98% for achievements, which, all the more, validates transfer from

English, discarding hypotheses like absolute L1 transfer or the Cumulative Enhancement Model.

All in all, the fact that, for the ongoing value and the temporary habitual value conditions, there is a higher rejection rate for the progressive show that their native tongue (in this case, Romanian) might also have a slight influence on their answers, validating the absolute L1 transfer hypothesis in the case of low-intermediate participants. For the habitual value and the futurate value conditions, the low rejection rates for the simple present and the high acceptance rate for the present progressive indicate that low-intermediate learners are aware that the present simple is used in habitual and futurate situations, but have failed to learn so far which are the contexts that allow the use of the progressive.

Concerning the upper-intermediate learners, the fact that the acceptance rate for the futurate reading (which is an unaccepted reading in Standard Spanish with the progressive) is higher than those for the ongoing and the temporary habitual values (which are accepted with the Spanish progressive) comes as a reinforcement of L2 transfer from English. This is the case especially since, compared with the results from the control group, the acceptance rate for the interpretation which is not associated with the Spanish progressive, i.e. the futurate, is significantly higher (85% compared with 50%).

Interestingly, the present study brings evidence that the source of transfer can be "selective" in terms of proficiency level. The results show that there may be absolute L1 transfer in the case of low-intermediate learners, i.e. during the early

stages. L3 learners are influenced by their L1. Additionally, they provide evidence that L2 transfer can also influence the L3 learners after they have reached a particular proficiency level, as was the case of the upper-intermediate learners of Spanish in the present study.

3.9 Conclusions

The present study investigated the learning of the observed the use of the Spanish progressive by native speakers of Romanian with English as their L2; more precisely, it aimed at establishing whether Romanian speakers show a tendency of undermarking the Spanish progressive, due to transfer from their L1, or whether they tend to overextend it, as a result of L2 transfer. The first prediction is in line with the absolute L1 transfer hypothesis since there are no overt progressive markers in Romanian. The second prediction is in line with the Typological Primacy Model (Rothman 2010), according to which Romanian native speakers should transfer the features of the progressive aspect from English, since it is typologically more similar to Spanish. The same prediction results from the L2 transfer hypothesis regarding the progressive in L3 Spanish in the context of L1 Romanian L2 English.

Following Gabriele et al.'s (2015) methodology, an acceptability judgement task was designed. The results of the present study indicate weak L1 transfer in the low-intermediate group, which validates the absolute L1 transfer hypothesis, and L2 transfer in the upper-intermediate group, manifested through an overgeneralisation of the Spanish

progressive, because they use the progressive forms even in that context where its use is considered incorrect in Peninsular Spanish, i.e. even in the futurate context. This comes as a confirmation of the Typological Primacy Model, as English allows the use of the progressive in futurate contexts; hence, Romanian speakers tend to transfer features of the progressive from English, which is their L2, in L3 Spanish. But the most important contribution of the present study to our understanding of the nature of transfer in L3 learning is that it offers data which indicate that L1 transfer is found during the early stages, in accordance with the Full Transfer/Full Access Hypothesis, whereas L2 transfer becomes obvious in the case of higher proficiency learners.

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Appendix

ANTECEDENTES LINGUÍSTICOS

1. ¿Cuál es tu nivel de estudios en este momento? (el curso en que estás actualmente)

2. ¿Cuál consideras que es tu nivel de español?
   - ☐ A1 (Principiante)
   - ☐ A2 (Básico)
   - ☐ B1 (Intermedio)
   - ☐ B2 (Intermedio-alto)
   - ☐ C1 (Avanzado)
   - ☐ C2 (Superior)

3. ¿De cuántos años sabes español?
   - ☐ 1-2 años
   - ☐ 3-4 años
   - ☐ 4-5 años
   - ☐ 5-10 años
   - ☐ más de 10 años

4. ¿Cómo has aprendido el español?
   - ☐ Solo/a
   - ☐ En la escuela secundaria
   - ☐ En el instituto
   - ☐ En la facultad
   - ☐ He vivido en un país hispanohablante
   - ☐ He cursado clases particulares
   - ☐ Otro…

5. ¿Cuál es la primera lengua extranjera que has aprendido?

Ahora vas a leer unos contextos que van seguidos por una pregunta. Para cada pregunta se te da una respuesta (que consiste en una oración). Lo que debes hacer es decidir si la respuesta que se te da es aceptable o inaceptable para ti, subrayando una de las variantes que tienes (Aceptable/ Inaceptable).

1. **ONGOING**

Elena es estudiante de matemáticas. Nunca ha escrito un poema en su vida, pero este semestre está en una clase de literatura. Para mañana tiene que escribir un poema de 15 versos sobre el amor. Ahora mismo está con el verso número 10. ¡Esto es horrible!
¿Qué hace Elena en este momento?
Elena escribe poesía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Elena es estudiante de matemáticas. Nunca ha escrito un poema en su vida, pero este semestre está en una clase de literatura. Para mañana tiene que escribir un poema de 15 versos sobre el amor. Ahora mismo está con el verso número 10. ¡Esto es horrible!
¿Qué hace Elena en este momento?
Elena está escribiendo poesía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Javier le encanta hacer deporte, pero no tuvo tiempo para hacer deporte desde que era pequeño. De todos modos, hoy su amigo le ha invitado a un partido de baloncesto a las 16 de la tarde y Javier ha aceptado y ha prometido que estará allí. Es 16:15.
¿Qué hace Javier en este momento?
Javier juega al baloncesto. Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Javier le encanta hacer deporte, pero no tuvo tiempo para hacer deporte desde que era pequeño. De todos modos, hoy su amigo le ha invitado a un partido de baloncesto a las 16 de la tarde y Javier ha aceptado y ha prometido que estará allí. Es 16:15.
¿Qué hace Javier en este momento?
Javier está jugando al baloncesto. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Ana es pianista. Cada día le gusta tocar el piano entre 14 y 16 de la tarde, después de que regresa de la escuela, para practicar y mejorarse. Ahora es 15:30 y, como siempre, ella está en el estudio.
¿Qué hace Ana en este momento?
Ana toca el piano. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Ana es pianista. Cada día le gusta tocar el piano entre 14 y 16 de la tarde, después de que regresa de la escuela, para practicar y mejorarse. Ahora es 15:30 y, como siempre, ella está en el estudio.
¿Qué hace Ana en este momento?
Ana está tocando el piano. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Daniel es comediante. Nunca ha intentado cocinar, pero mañana tiene que hacer pasteles para la Feria de Navidad en que su hijo participará para recaudar dinero para los animales maltratados. Ahora mismo está con el pastel cinco de diez. ¡Es un desastre!
¿Qué hace Daniel en este momento?
Daniel hace pasteles. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Daniel es comediante. Nunca ha intentado cocinar, pero mañana tiene que hacer pasteles para la Feria de Navidad en que su hijo participará para recaudar dinero para los animales maltratados. Ahora mismo está con el pastel cinco de diez. ¡Es un desastre!
¿Qué hace Daniel en este momento?
Daniel está haciendo pasteles. Aceptable/Inaceptable.

2. **HABITUAL**

Gloria es escritora. Su trabajo consiste en escribir poesía para niños de lunes a viernes. Hoy es domingo, así que está en el cine con unas amigas.
¿Qué hace Gloria normalmente?
Gloria escribe poesía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Gloria es escritora. Su trabajo consiste en escribir poesía para niños de lunes a viernes. Hoy es domingo, así que está en el cine con unas amigas.
¿Qué hace Gloria normalmente?
Gloria está escribiendo poesía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Dora le encanta jugar al baloncesto. Es su deporte favorito y suele jugar al baloncesto cada sábado. Hoy es lunes, así que está en la oficina firmando papeles.
¿Qué hace Dora cada fin de semana?
Dora juega al baloncesto. Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Dora le encanta jugar al baloncesto. Es su deporte favorito y suele jugar al baloncesto cada sábado. Hoy es lunes, así que está en la oficina firmando papeles.
¿Qué hace Dora cada fin de semana?
Dora está jugando al baloncesto. Aceptable/Inaceptable

El pasatiempo favorito de Mario es tocar el piano. Su modo de relajar es tocar el piano cada lunes y martes, cuando no tiene clases en la facultad. Hoy es miércoles, por tanto está en el aula de informática de la facultad.
¿Qué hace Mario cada día cuando no tiene clases en la facultad?
Mario toca el piano. Aceptable/Inaceptable

El pasatiempo favorito de Mario es tocar el piano. Su modo de relajar es tocar el piano cada lunes y martes, cuando no tiene clases en la facultad. Hoy es miércoles, por tanto está en el aula de informática de la facultad.
¿Qué hace Mario cada día cuando no tiene clases en la facultad?
Mario está tocando el piano. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Carolina es pastelera. Su trabajo consiste en hacer pasteles ocho horas por día de lunes a sábado. Hoy es domingo. Como consecuencia, no está en la pastelería, sino está fuera con su hermana.
¿Qué hace Carolina normalmente?
Carolina hace pasteles. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Carolina es pastelera. Su trabajo consiste en hacer pasteles ocho horas por día de lunes a sábado. Hoy es domingo. Como consecuencia, no está en la pastelería, sino está fuera con su hermana.
¿Qué hace Carolina normalmente?
Carolina está haciendo pasteles. Aceptable/Inaceptable

3. TEMPORARY HABITUAL

Javier es periodista. Normalmente, su trabajo consiste en escribir los horóscopos, pero esta semana tiene que escribir poesía para la sección cultural del periódico. Esta semana Javier ha escrito muchos poemas cada día, pero los dos poemas que escribió ayer son horribles.
¿Qué hace Javier esta semana?
Javier escribe poesía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Javier es periodista. Normalmente, su trabajo consiste en escribir los horóscopos, pero esta semana tiene que escribir poesía para la sección cultural del periódico. Esta semana Javier ha escrito muchos poemas cada día, pero los dos poemas que escribió ayer son horribles.
¿Qué hace Javier esta semana?
Javier está escribiendo poesía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Alberto es profesor de deporte. Generalmente, lo que hace es enseñar a los niños a jugar al voleibol, pero este mes ha decidido enseñarlos a jugar al baloncesto. Por tanto, este mes se ha entrenado mucho en este deporte para poder enseñar a sus alumnos.
¿Qué hace Alberto este mes?
Alberto juega al baloncesto. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Alberto es profesor de deporte. Generalmente, lo que hace es enseñar a los niños a jugar al voleibol, pero este mes ha decidido enseñarlos a jugar al baloncesto. Por tanto, este mes se ha entrenado mucho en este deporte para poder enseñar a sus alumnos.
¿Qué hace Alberto este mes?
Alberto está jugando al baloncesto. Aceptable/Inaceptable

En su tiempo libre, lo que más le gusta a María hacer normalmente es leer libros. Pero este mes ha pensado en hacer algo más creativo, así que ha empezado tocar el piano en vez de leer libros. Este mes ha tocado mucho el piano y empieza a convertirse en una maestra.
¿Qué hace María este mes?
María toca el piano. Aceptable/Inaceptable

En su tiempo libre, lo que más le gusta a María hacer normalmente es leer libros. Pero este mes ha pensado en hacer algo más creativo, así que ha empezado tocar el piano en vez de leer libros. Este mes ha tocado mucho el piano y empieza a convertirse en una maestra.
¿Qué hace María este mes?
María está tocando el piano. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Paco es pastelero. Generalmente, lo que hace es preparar tartas con frutas en la pastelería, pero esta semana ha habido una demanda inmensa de pasteles. Por tanto, esta semana Paco ha tenido que ayudar a sus compañeros de trabajo y aprender a hacer pasteles.
¿Qué hace Paco esta semana?
Paco hace pasteles. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Paco es pastelero. Generalmente, lo que hace es preparar tartas con frutas en la pastelería, pero esta semana ha habido una demanda inmensa de pasteles. Por tanto, esta semana Paco ha tenido que ayudar a sus compañeros de trabajo y aprender a hacer pasteles.
¿Qué hace Paco esta semana?
Paco está haciendo pasteles. Aceptable/Inaceptable

4. FUTURATE

Lucía ha decidido ir a Chicago a ver a su amigo Emilio. Nunca ha estado en Chicago, así que está muy emocionada con el viaje. Ha comprado un billete de autobús para el sábado a las 2pm.
¿Qué planes tiene Lucía para el próximo sábado a las 2pm?
Lucía sale para Chicago. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Lucía ha decidido ir a Chicago a ver a su amigo Emilio. Nunca ha estado en Chicago, así que está muy emocionada con el viaje. Ha comprado un billete de autobús para el sábado a las 2pm.
¿Qué planes tiene Lucía para el próximo sábado a las 2pm?
Lucía está saliendo para Chicago. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Carlota vive en España desde hace 8 años, pero este año quiere volver a Puerto Rico, su país de origen, ya que extraña mucho a su familia. Ha comprado un billete de avión para el lunes a las 3.
¿Qué planes tiene Carlota para el próximo lunes a las 3?
Carlota vuelve a Puerto Rico. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Carlota vive en España desde hace 8 años, pero este año quiere volver a Puerto Rico, su país de origen, ya que extraña mucho a su familia. Ha comprado un billete de avión para el lunes a las 3.
¿Qué planes tiene Carlota para el próximo lunes a las 3?
Carlota está volviendo a Puerto Rico. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Jorge ha terminado un proyecto muy importante y ha decidido venir a Rumanía para pasar el fin de semana. Por tanto, ha comprado un billete de avión para el viernes por la tarde.
¿Qué planes tiene Jorge para el próximo viernes por la tarde?
Jorge viene a Rumanía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Jorge ha terminado un proyecto muy importante y ha decidido venir a Rumanía para pasar el fin de semana. Por tanto, ha comprado un billete de avión para el viernes por la tarde.
¿Qué planes tiene Jorge para el próximo viernes por la tarde?
Jorge está viniendo a Rumanía. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Alba no vio a sus padres desde la Navidad pasada. Por tanto, ha decidido hacerles una sorpresa y regresar a Madrid. Ya tiene un billete de autobús para el 24 de diciembre.
¿Qué planes tiene Alba para el 24 de diciembre?
Alba regresa a Madrid. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Alba no vio a sus padres desde la Navidad pasada. Por tanto, ha decidido hacerles una sorpresa y regresar a Madrid. Ya tiene un billete de autobús para el 24 de diciembre.
¿Qué planes tiene Alba para el 24 de diciembre?
Alba está regresando a Madrid. Aceptable/Inaceptable

FILLERS

Antonio es profesor de español en la universidad. Es un profesor muy estricto, pero siempre tiene muchos estudiantes, pues Antonio tiene reputación de ser un profesor excepcional. Sus alumnos hablan muy bien español.
¿Qué sabemos de Antonio?
Antonio es químico. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Antonio es profesor de español en la universidad. Es un profesor muy estricto, pero siempre tiene muchos estudiantes, pues Antonio tiene reputación de ser un profesor excepcional. Sus alumnos hablan muy bien español.
¿Qué sabemos de Antonio?
Antonio es mal profesor. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Camelia es actriz. Esta semana se ha grabado una película donde ella juega el papel central. A todo el mundo le encanta verla en las pantallas, ya que tiene mucho don para esto e interpreta fenomenal.
¿Qué sabemos de Camelia?
Camelia es cantante. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Camelia es actriz. Esta semana se ha grabado una película donde ella juega el papel central. A todo el mundo le encanta verla en las pantallas, ya que tiene mucho don para esto e interpreta fenomenal.
¿Qué sabemos de Camelia?
Camelia no interpreta bien los papeles. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Pablo es periodista. Los artículos que escribe contienen muchos detalles interesantes y su manera de presentar la información deja a cualquiera con la boca abierta. Por eso lo aprecian mucho en la oficina.
¿Qué sabemos de Pablo?
Pablo es traductor. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Pablo es periodista. Los artículos que escribe contienen muchos detalles interesantes y su manera de presentar la información deja a cualquiera con la boca abierta. Por eso lo aprecian mucho en la oficina.
¿Qué sabemos de Pablo?
Pablo no escribe bien sus artículos. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Diego es ciclista. Siempre le hace mucha ilusión participar en eventos para los ciclistas porque montar en bicicleta lo hace sentirse vivo y ganar premios es su objetivo principal. Además, es muy bueno en esto; tiene más de 10 trofeos en su casa.
¿Qué sabemos de Diego?
Diego es atleta. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Diego es ciclista. Siempre le hace mucha ilusión participar en eventos para los ciclistas porque montar en bicicleta lo hace sentirse vivo y ganar premios es su objetivo principal. Además, es muy bueno en esto; tiene más de 10 trofeos en su casa.
¿Qué sabemos de Diego?
Diego no sabe montar en bicicleta muy bien.
Aceptable/Inaceptable

Francisco es atleta. Él siempre corre en carreras nacional porque le gusta muchísimo correr y quiere testar sus límites. Aún más, casi cada vez sale ganador.
¿Qué sabemos de Francisco?
Francisco es jugador de futbol. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Francisco es atleta. Él siempre corre en carreras nacional porque le gusta muchísimo correr y quiere testar sus límites. Aún más, casi cada vez sale ganador.
¿Qué sabemos de Francisco?
Francisco nunca gana las carreras. Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Thalia le gusta patinar todas las tardes. Ella es patinadora y se entrena tan frecuentemente porque ser patinadora y ganar competiciones no es fácil, sino necesita mucho esfuerzo.
¿Qué sabemos de Thalia?
Thalia es esquiadora. Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Thalia le gusta patinar todas las tardes. Ella es patinadora y se entrena tan frecuentemente porque ser patinadora y ganar competiciones no es fácil, sino necesita mucho esfuerzo.
¿Qué sabemos de Thalia?

Thalia patina solo dos veces por semana. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Paloma no comió carne desde el año pasado cuando empezó a ser vegetariana. Para ella es un estilo de vida sano y ha dejado de comer carne desde que tomó esta decisión porque le importa mucho el medioambiente.
¿Qué sabemos de Paloma?

Paloma come carne. Aceptable/Inaceptable

Paloma no comió carne desde el año pasado cuando empezó a ser vegetariana. Para ella es un estilo de vida sano y ha dejado de comer carne desde que tomó esta decisión porque le importa mucho el medioambiente.
¿Qué sabemos de Paloma?

Para Paloma el medioambiente no es importante.
Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Sebastián le encanta jugar póker y es muy competitivo. Además, es un jugador de póker muy famoso ya que siempre recibe invitaciones a competiciones de póker muy importantes.
¿Qué sabemos de Sebastián?

Sebastián es jugador de tenis. Aceptable/Inaceptable

A Sebastián le encanta jugar póker y es muy competitivo. Además, es un jugador de póker muy famoso ya que siempre recibe invitaciones a competiciones de póker muy importantes.
¿Qué sabemos de Sebastián?

Sebastián no es conocido en el mundo del póker.
Aceptable/Inaceptable

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